

The Fall of a People.
The adoption of customs,
foods, records, clothing,
book banning, censorship,
religion, and language.



Govert Westerveld

**The Fall of a People.
The adoption of customs,
foods, records, clothing,
book banning, censorship,
religion, and language.**



Govert Westerveld

**The Fall of a People.
The adoption of customs,
foods, records, clothing,
book banning, censorship
religion, and language.**



Govert Westerveld

The Fall of a People. The adoption of customs, food, records, clothing, book banning, censorship, religion, and language.

© Govert Westerveld

**Academia de Estudios Humanísticos de Blanca
(Murcia) Spain**

Todos los derechos reservados. Ninguna parte de este libro puede ser usada o reproducida en ninguna forma o por cualquier medio, o guardada en base de datos o sistema de almacenaje, en castellano o cualquier otro lenguaje, sin permiso previo por escrito de Govert Westerveld, excepto en el caso de cortas menciones en artículos de críticos o de media.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or distributed in any form or by any means, or stored in a database or retrieval system, in Spanish or any other language, without the prior written consent of Govert Westerveld, except in the case of brief quotations embodied in critical articles or reviews.

**ISBN: 978-1-4467-2196-4 (Hardcover – Lulu.com)
eBook (Without ISBN)**

© Govert Westerveld

September, 2023.

30540 Blanca (Murcia) Spain

Dedication

"To all those who seek to uncover the past and learn from the heritage of humanity."

Foreword

The appreciation of the importance of history is forged through a deep understanding of multiple facets that are intricately intertwined with astonishing complexity. History, with its enigmatic depth, stands as a beacon of knowledge that illuminates the paths of the present and sheds light on the mysterious background story of the sociopolitical structures that shape our current reality.

History presents itself as a guide that navigates us through the labyrinth of the present. It provides us with the necessary clarity to uncover the intrigues of modern life, enabling us to better comprehend why the world is in its current state. It illuminates the path that connects certain past events and decisions to the complex reality of today.

History, in its didactic and enlightening nature, warns us against the pitfalls of repeating age-old mistakes. It safeguards us from collective amnesia that could drag us toward the recreation of the same tragedies. In its didactic mastery, it exposes the lessons that arise from actions and choices of the past, not only at the national level but also on the international stage. It cautions us about the harmful consequences that can result from certain actions and decisions, posing urgent questions about responsibility and wisdom in the global arena.

The concepts of culture and identity, interwoven in a continuous dance through time, offer a complex and intriguing panorama. Their roots delve deep into history, where traditions, values, and beliefs are woven into the fabric of the past and passed down from generation to generation. These elements shape our essence, defining who we are and what we value.

Historical understanding is an indispensable requirement for active citizenship. It empowers individuals to participate consciously in democratic processes, promoting critical thinking nourished by historical insight. It facilitates the informed assessment of government decisions in the context of historical understanding, fostering informed and empowered citizens.

History, with its enriching narratives, inspires us through the chronicles of heroes, visionaries, innovators, and social reformers who have left an indelible mark on the tapestry of humanity. Their feats and achievements instill in us the spirit of self-improvement and the desire to shape our own destiny.

Research and historical analysis are valuable skills in various disciplines and professions. The ability to evaluate sources, establish connections between events, and reason critically holds enduring value.

In short, history is revealed as an invaluable treasure that not only enlightens the world around us but also guides us toward a more enlightened future. It teaches us the lessons learned from our past mistakes

and victories, promoting continuous growth and evolution within society.

In this way, as we read this book, we better understand why the people discussed in this work had the following popular saying:

Reason sleeps,
Treasib flies,
Justice fails,
Malice reigns

Perhaps we will come to understand, at some point, that the great historical truth is based on the following statement:

"The decline of a society lies primarily in moral decay."

Govert Westerveld

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1	The omnipotent Spain	1
1.1	In the Low Countries	2
1.2	The Royal Ordinance	6
2	1567 Francisco Nuñez Muley.	8
3	The Consequences	76

**It's about reading one word
and understanding two.**

1 The omnipotent Spain

1.1 In the Low Countries

In 1566, an important event known as the "Revolt of the Low Countries" or the "Rebellion of the Low Countries" (also called the "Dutch Revolt") occurred in the Low Countries, which were under the dominion of the Spanish Empire at that time. This was a significant conflict that ultimately led to the Eighty Years' War, lasting from 1568 to 1648, and resulting in the independence of the Low Countries from Spanish rule.

The winter of 1564-1565 brought a major crop failure, leading to widespread hunger. All of this resulted in growing unrest. In short, it was a population ripe for rebellion. The fact that all Catholic churches were destroyed everywhere had to do with influential dark and powerful forces inciting the people and was not solely due to famine. In that regard, they had the wind at their backs because Philip II was inflexible in his decisions.

Indeed, under the reign of this king, strict measures were taken in the Low Countries, including the introduction of the Inquisition and censorship. Here are some important measures introduced under Philip II:

Inquisition:

In 1566, Philip II issued the "Blood Edict," also known as the "Edict on Heresy." This introduced the Inquisition to the Low Countries. The Inquisition aimed to identify and prosecute heretics and dissenters, leading to the persecution of Protestants and dissenting individuals, which in turn resulted in further unrest and uprisings.

Censorship:

Under Philip II, strict censorship was imposed on publications and printed works. Books and writings deemed heretical or seditious were banned. This restricted the spread of Protestant ideas and other divergent opinions. Censorship was a highly controversial measure. Many people in the Low Countries disagreed with their freedom of expression being limited. Censorship led to numerous protests and violent outbreaks.

Centralization of Governance:

Philip II strengthened the centralization of governance in the Low Countries, leading to more authoritarian control from Spain. This faced resistance from local nobility and cities that wanted to maintain their privileges and autonomy.

Taxation and Excises:

Philip II also imposed heavy taxes and excises on the Dutch provinces to finance the war against France and England, leading to economic problems and dissatisfaction among the population.

These measures contributed to growing discontent and tensions in the Low Countries, eventually leading to the Eighty Years' War (1568-1648).

The Revolt of the Low Countries began in 1566 with a series of disturbances and protests by local Protestants against the religious policies of King Philip II of Spain and the Catholic Church. Protestants in the Low Countries were dissatisfied with religious persecution and the imposition of Catholicism in a region where there was a growing Protestant population.

On August 10, 1566, a group of nobles and Protestant leaders presented a Petition of Compromise (also known as the "Petition of the Nobles") to the Spanish government, requesting religious tolerance and a reduction in persecution. However, the petition was not well-received by King Philip II or the Spanish authorities in the Low Countries.

This led to a wave of iconoclasm, in which Catholic churches were vandalized, and religious images were destroyed by Protestant iconoclasts. These disturbances spread to several cities in the Low Countries.

Philip II's response was to send the Duke of Alba, Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, with an army to suppress the revolt. The arrival of the Duke of Alba in 1567 marked the beginning of more intense repression against the Protestants and the imposition of Spanish control in the region.

The revolt in the Low Countries eventually turned into a struggle for independence from Spain, and the Eighty Years' War formally began in 1568 with the

Battle of Heiligerlee. The war continued for decades and ultimately ended with the recognition of the independence of the Low Countries from Spain in the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, which concluded the Eighty Years' War and established the independence of the Low Countries as the United Provinces (independent Netherlands).

1.2 The Royal Ordinance

Philip II approved new laws. The royal ordinance containing the prohibitions was promulgated on November 17, 1566, and made public on January 1, 1567.

The purpose of the edict was to compel the Moriscos to abandon their Islamic way of life and customs and genuinely convert to Catholicism.

The ordinances of 1567 against the Moriscos consisted of a total of 11 articles. Here is a summary of the articles of the 1567 ordinances against the Moriscos:

I. Speaking, reading, and writing in Arabic were prohibited within three years.

II. Contracts made in this language were declared null and void.

III. Books written in this language, possessed by the Moriscos, had to be submitted within thirty days to the president of the Chancery of Granada. Once examined, books that did not pose any objections for believing persons would be returned to their owners for them to possess for another three years.

IV. The Moriscos were to dress in the Spanish manner, without wearing "marlotas," "almalafas," or stockings, and their women were to have uncovered faces.

V. During weddings, ceremonies, and similar celebrations, they were to follow Christian customs, opening windows and doors without holding Moorish festivities or songs, even if these were not contrary to Christianity.

VI. They were not to celebrate on Fridays.

VII. They were not to use Moorish names and surnames.

VIII. Women were not to adorn themselves.

IX. They were not to bathe in artificial baths, and existing baths were to be destroyed.

X. The "gacis" (Moors from North Africa) were to be expelled, and the Moriscos were not to have slaves of this lineage.

XI. Licenses to own black slaves were to be reviewed.

The Moriscos attempted to negotiate the suspension, just as they had done in 1526, through delegations, but the king remained inflexible. The efforts made by Francisco Núñez Muley before Pedro de Deza, the new president of the Chancery of Granada, were unsuccessful. There is a petition from Francisco Núñez Muley, whose text is reproduced hereafter.

2 1567 Francisco Nuñez Muley.

**1567 Oral Statement by
Francisco Nuñez Muley.**

Memorandum for the very illustrious and most reverend lord president of the Royal Audience and Chancellery of this famous and great city of Granada and its kingdom, regarding the matters that His Excellency should know regarding the recent public proclamation of the ordinance. With the aim of providing His Excellency with honest information that can benefit the inhabitants of this kingdom in their relationship with His Majesty and the members of his very high Royal Council, based on the responsibility entrusted to them by His Majesty upon the recommendations of prelates and other individuals, I will present what my modest opinion and memory can reach.

First and foremost, it is important to note that during the period when the indigenous population of this kingdom converted to our Holy Catholic Faith, the condition was set not to change their customs and to preserve the old memories. However, I do not believe that there is any mention of such an agreement or arrangement in the memory of anyone in this kingdom, and to this day, no document has been found to support it. The conversion of the indigenous population of this kingdom took place by force and in violation of what the Catholic Monarchs had determined.



Baptism of the Muslims, 1502

The agreement was made with King Muley Boabdil, who ruled over this kingdom, and some of his mayors, and it was signed by both parties with more than forty specific provisions. This agreement was

made at the time when the king and his mayors
surrendered this city and this kingdom.



Painting of Muhammad XII, the last Sultan of Granada. Spanish school, 15th century. Collection of Count Anatoly Nikolaievich Demidov, 1st Prince of San Donato until 1870. Private collection.

In essence, the agreement stipulated that they should preserve their traditions, including everything related to their mosques, mayors, market inspectors (almotacenes¹), Islamic scholars (alfaquíes²), and all the benefits associated with their mosques.



The Catholic Monarchs: Ferdinand and Isabella.

As for their salaries and possessions, as well as everything they had and used, and to prevent them from converting to Christianity, along with other provisions included in the aforementioned privilege and chapters to which we refer, the original of which is in the possession of the late Don Pedro Vanegas, which was found among the documents of Hernando de Zafra, secretary to the Catholic Monarchs, Your Excellency can view, request, and obtain copies of it, as there have been similar matters in this city and in

¹ An almotacén was a public official charged with overseeing markets and the quality of goods. This official had the authority to inspect goods, set prices, and punish merchants who committed irregularities.

² An alfaquí is an Islamic jurist, an expert in fiqh, or Islamic jurisprudence and Islamic law. Fuqaha are trained to interpret the Quran, the Sunnah, and other Islamic sources, and to issue fatwas, which are legal advice on religious matters.

this Royal Audience. Copies of this document were also found in the possession of their secretaries. These are the provisions agreed upon and established in this city and its kingdom, and what was ordered in the city of Seville by Queen Doña Juana, our lady (may God have her in glory).



House of Hernando de Zafra in Granada.

In the city of Seville, on the twentieth day of the month of June in the year fifteen hundred and eleven, it was determined that tailors and craftsmen who made clothing and garments for the aforementioned inhabitants should not make or cut them, and that the stocks of clothing older than six years should be depleted. Furthermore, other provisions were enacted, such as the prohibition of slaughtering meat as they were accustomed to, instituting a new method of slaughter, the prohibition of godparents among the inhabitants, and other provisions that I do not remember in detail

and are included and specified in the aforementioned decree. This was publicly announced and proclaimed in this city and its kingdom simultaneously with the issuance of the letter and the corresponding decree in the city of Burgos, in the year fifteen hundred and eight. I am not sure if it was announced and proclaimed because I do not remember that announcement clearly, and there is no record of anyone remembering it.

From Valladolid, on the twenty-ninth day of the month of July in the year fifteen hundred and thirteen, I declare that such an ordinance was not announced or proclaimed. I do not recall it, and no one else remembers it, but it is in writing. In the said year thirteen, I, along with other prominent knights of the inhabitants of this kingdom, went on a business trip appropriate to His Highness the Catholic King (may he rest in glory). We were unaware of such a thing. Earlier in that year or thereafter, an ordinance was issued on behalf of His Highness, along with other proposals, in favor of the inhabitants of this kingdom. In fact, he ordered that any old Christian of any quality, who would uncover the face of a Moorish woman, almalafa or her clothing, or address her with offensive words during processions, in streets, squares, or other places, would be punished with a certain time in prison and with a penalty as specified in the said ordinance. This ordinance was publicly announced and proclaimed in this city and beyond at a time when Hernando Arias and Juan Arias de Saabreda were the magistrates of this city. Its secretary was Hernando Díaz de Baldepenas, public scribe of this city. His successor in office was Don Diego el Farruz, who has since passed away, and I, along with him, proclaimed this ordinance. And what was determined in the year

eighteen in Valladolid by Emperor, our lord (may he rest in glory). The first year he came from Flanders to rule over Castile, as the Catholic King had already died in the year seventeen [1916] before, certain prominent individuals and knights of this kingdom accompanied the Marquis of Mondejar to greet his royal highness [Charles V] and congratulate him on his arrival to rule over his kingdoms.



**King Charles of Spain and also as Emperor
Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire**

At that time, various issues were discussed, both in the service of His Majesty and concerning the indigenous population, for which we had provided services and had obliged His Majesty to collect the regular service of twenty-one thousand ducats. This was because King Philip I [the Handsome], his

deceased father, had stopped collecting the aforementioned twenty-one thousand ducats that were previously paid by the indigenous population of this kingdom.



Portrait: King Philip I the Handsome (1478-1506)

They were only collected after his death, which occurred two years ago. However, later, the collection was restored. In the year eighteen, in Valladolid, it was decided, along with other measures that His Majesty took for the benefit of the indigenous population of this kingdom, to suspend the obligation to change the clothing and attire of the Moorish women. Craftsmen were allowed to weave and make Moorish clothing. In return, His Majesty would receive the aforementioned twenty-one thousand ducats.



Portrait: Francisco de los Cobos by Jan Gossaert, ca. 1530.

This agreement is recorded in the books of Commander Francisco de los Cobros [y Molina]³, secretary to His Majesty, as well as in the archives of Domingo Pérez, who was the chief writer of the services. In Granada, there is an ordinance and a decree issued in the year eighteen that suspended the application of the rules regarding clothing and the weaving of Moorish clothing. This document is in the possession of Don Hernando Muley, my cousin, son of Don Álvaro de Fez, his deceased father, who inherited it from my uncle Don Hernando de Fez,

³ Francisco de los Cobos y Molina (Úbeda, ca. 1477 - Úbeda, 11 May 1547) was a knight of the Order of Santiago and began his career as a lawyer at the court of the Catholic Monarchs, Isabella and Ferdinand. Later, he played a key role as Secretary of State and the Royal Council during the reign of Charles V. He was an influential figure in the administration of Charles V and became one of his most important advisors.

also deceased. Furthermore, another ordinance was later issued. The copy of this ordinance is in the possession of Juan de Astorga, writer of the services of His Majesty.



Portrait: Cardinal Gaspar Dávalos, painted by Pedro de Raxis (1555-1626) in the Archbishop's Palace of Granada.

This provision states that the restrictions regarding clothing and making clothing do not apply to new Christian women. Due to this regulation, the mayors ordered that the women should recover their clothing and jewelry, which had been confiscated by the officials of this city. And this will find your grace proven for Juan Díaz, public writer, and for Montealegre, who has taken over the office of Rodrigo Méndez, city secretary. In the time when Archbishop Gaspar Dávalos, somewhere in the thirties or forties, attempted, either through an ordinance or through a decision of the congregation, to summon some residents of Guexar (possibly Guadix) to give up their habit.



Morisco Music

A rebellion broke out in which they implored the then lord president, as well as the Marquis of Mondéjar⁴, to convene them to discuss the issue of the habit. Furthermore, an ordinance had been issued that officials would patrol the roads and burn the saddlebags of those who traveled for Mass, as well as arrest people involved in Moorish songs or music [zambras] or leilas, which were nocturnal gatherings with music, songs, and penances, among other things that were harmful to the local population⁵. Some leaders of the community filed a complaint with the

⁴ This concerns Luis Hurtado de Mendoza y Pacheco, the II Marquis of Mondéjar, who excelled in his military career and participated in various military campaigns and conflicts of his time. He served the Catholic Monarchs, Isabella and Ferdinand, and later, Charles I of Spain.

⁵ In both cases, zambras and leilas, the use of the lute was dominant, to which other musical instruments were added, such as tambourines, rattles and sounding bells, drums, long metal trumpets and flutes. See: Gallego Burín, A. & Gámir Sandoval, A. (1968). Los moriscos del reino de Granada según el Sínodo de Guadix de 1554. Granada: University.

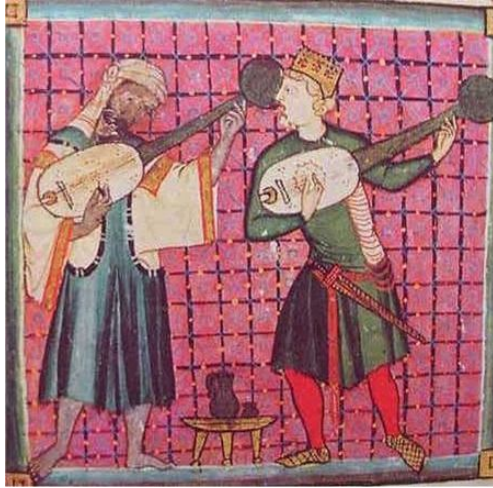
Marquis and the lord president [of the Royal Court of Granada], as well as with the city governor, who was Hernando Arias at the time. Then, they submitted a petition to the City Council of Granada expressing their concerns about the actions of the archbishop.



Royal Chancellery of Granada.

The research was entrusted to the aforementioned corregidor and twenty-two city officials, one of whom was Juan de Trillo and the other Hernán Álvarez, both deceased. The three of them went to the archbishop with the intention of negotiating with him and preventing the situation from deteriorating. However, since they couldn't reach an agreement with the archbishop, I'm not sure if this was a decision of the city council or, after consulting with the gentlemen president and judges (I don't remember who determined this), an edict was issued, which was proclaimed throughout Granada and under the windows of the archbishop. This edict stipulated that no layperson should obey the archbishop's orders unless they pertained to church matters. Penalties were imposed in the edict. In this

way, the archbishop's attempt to persuade the inhabitants of Guexar (possibly Guadix) to stop wearing their clothing came to an end. Also, the penalties and arrests related to Morisco songs and music initiated by the archbishop and his provisor were abolished.



Arabic and Christian minstrel, Songs for the Holy Mary, Alfonso X the Wise (1250?).

These documents and the edict are recorded in the archives of the city council and its corresponding scribe during the term of office of Hernando Arias as corregidor. All of this was enacted in favor of the inhabitants regarding their clothing. During this period, Licentiate Luzón, the mayor of this city, visited the archbishop's house with the intention of arresting someone involved in these matters. According to witness statements, a conflict arose between the archbishop and Licentiate Luzón. The archbishop said to him, "You should have entered my house to search." The mayor replied that he had the authority to do so. The argument escalated until the

mayor said to the archbishop, "Is Your Grace not aware that a mayor of this city has the authority to hang a bishop or archbishop, just as he has hanged another?" All of this was the result of the controversy and other matters related to the aforementioned clothing issue. The ordinance or chapter of the meeting that motivated Archbishop Don Gaspar Dávalos was not openly proclaimed or announced. The archbishop attempted to establish it on his own authority, as mentioned earlier, until it was eventually proclaimed and enforced as announced. After all that has been mentioned above regarding clothing and the ordinance that suspended the royal ordinance on clothing issued in Valladolid in the eighteenth year when we were present at His Majesty's court and in this city of Granada when His Majesty was here. We served Him with a total of ninety thousand ducats: eighty thousand for His Majesty and ten thousand that His Majesty granted to many knights, officials, and people involved. In this way, we fulfilled the six years in which we had committed to pay the mentioned ninety thousand ducats, fifteen thousand in each year. We continued to serve His Majesty in this kingdom for a total of sixty thousand ducats, fifty thousand for His Majesty and the remaining ten thousand ducats for those to whom His Majesty granted favors and for those who succeeded them in their positions.



Morisco Clothing⁶

This service is known as the service of the Royal House, amounting to ten thousand ducats per year, in addition to the regular twenty-one thousand ducats, the five thousand from the extraordinary service, and expenses that amounted to thirty-seven thousand five hundred ducats. It should not exceed more than thirty-eight thousand ducats in total. We all pledged to preserve our customs, clothing, and footwear, without causing any harm to the Holy Catholic Faith, as I have explained before and will continue to explain. The reason we offered our service to His Majesty for the ninety thousand ducats, while His Majesty was in this city and his

⁶ The image depicts the clothing of the Moriscos (converted muslims) from Granada around the 16th century, as depicted by Jean Jacques Boissard in his book "Recueil de costumes étrangers" (1528-1602). It shows characteristic elements of Morisco's clothing, such as the headband with a roll on the head, the shirt, the overcoat, and the "trabaq," which were the "Moorish pants" or Morisco-style pants. It also depicts a figure wearing Morisco undergarments (the second figure from the left), consisting of the characteristic "zaragüelles" or wide pants with many pleats.

Alhambra, was due to the obligation to pay the mentioned ninety thousand ducats.



**Íñigo López de Mendoza y Quiñones, first Marquis of Mondéjar,
painted by Francisco Díaz Carreño (Museo del Prado).**

In the seventeenth year, some residents of this city, particularly craftsmen, merchants, and tailors who made and decorated clothing for the native Moors, pledged to stop weaving and making Moorish clothing for women, as the six years established by His Highness the Catholic King (may he rest in peace) in Seville were being observed. At that time, it was forbidden to weave or make Moorish clothing for women, and because of this prohibition, the mentioned individuals pledged to serve His Highness with eighty thousand ducats, and that the craftsmen and textile masters would make and cut the clothing and articles of their clothing.



Granada

However, this obligation was not fulfilled at the time due to the absence of the leaders of this city, and it was also not reported to the old Marquis, Count of Tendilla (may he rest in peace). Instead, only the people who gathered in the house of Don Miguel de León, the city's Two-and-Twenty alderman, along with the corregidor Juan Basques Coronado, engaged in this matter. It simply was not carried out because the circumstances were not suitable at the time, and there was not enough involvement. Although later, Don Antonio de la Cueva, the corregidor who succeeded Juan Basques, also wanted it to be carried out, it did not happen due to the lack of coordination with the Marquis of Mondéjar and the leaders of this city, and because the right conditions did not arise. It wasn't until the eighteenth year that His Majesty, through his corregidor, gave the green light for the execution of the mentioned service of twenty-one thousand ducats, as a result of the commitment made in that year regarding clothing and customs.

We waited to serve His Majesty with the eighty thousand ducats during the time he was in this city and his Alhambra when we served him with the mentioned ninety thousand ducats. Although some residents complained about serving His Majesty with an amount higher than the usual twenty-one thousand ducats, the Marquis of Mondéjar and the leaders of this city and beyond argued that it was just to serve His Majesty since he had returned to his kingdom and caused them no harm. Furthermore, many of them had already committed to the mentioned eighty thousand ducats during the lifetime of the Catholic King (may he rest in peace), in exchange for the preservation of their customs and clothing. All of this was the result of one thing after another due to the clothing issue, and for this reason, the prohibition on the mentioned clothing was often suspended. Now we must not allow the kingdom to be completely lost by taking away their clothing, and in this regard, all the measures mentioned above regarding clothing have been taken. Reverend Sir, if you consider the great damage and loss that the inhabitants would face by taking away their clothing, as well as the craftsmen who make their living from it and the merchants whose capital is invested in it, then you will realize that, although this clothing issue may seem simple at first glance, it is actually a very complex matter. When considering both the individual and general aspects, you will see that, despite all the favorable opinions expressed about the said order, it has had no positive impact and will not have any.

I don't want to talk about thousands but millions that will be lost in this kingdom by taking away their clothing. This is because there are approximately fifty thousand families of native inhabitants in this

kingdom. Suppose in each household there are three women, mothers, and daughters; that would be one hundred fifty thousand women and people who would have to change their clothing. Of all these people, barely four or five thousand would be able to do so without problems, while all the others would be forced to sell or pawn something to be able to do it. The jewelry of their clothing that they had kept for their own needs and to sell, if necessary, would have no value in the market. Furthermore, the merchants who had invested their money in the mentioned garments and other goods would discover that the Moorish clothing pieces cannot be transformed into Castilian clothing and cannot be reused or utilized in any way. On the one hand, they are too short and too narrow, and on the other hand, they cannot be converted into Castilian clothing by any technique or method.

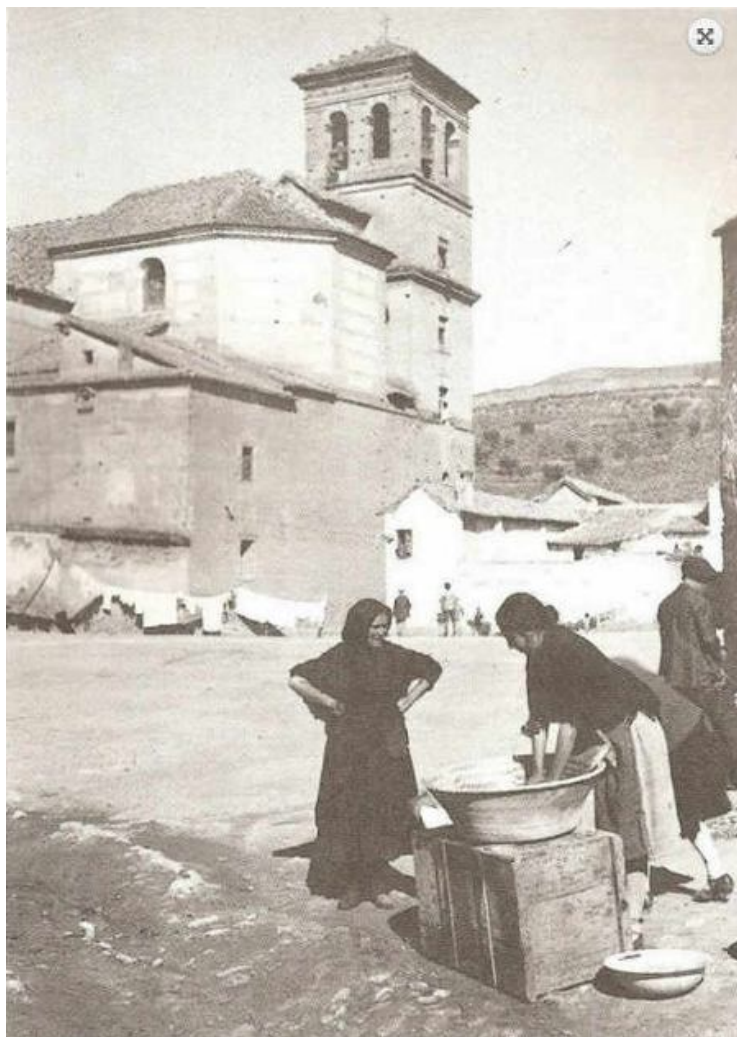


Image of a laundry in the Albayzín neighborhood on Abad Square, with the church of El Salvador in the background. This photo must date from before 1939, as this church was destroyed during the Spanish Civil War.

<https://albayzin.info/2014/06/iglesia-del-salvador/> 20-10-2022

Additionally, for this reason, a large part would be lost, which is not numerically quantifiable. This

would cause significant harm to the royal revenues and matters related to the service to the Royal Crown. Over the years, this issue has been discussed repeatedly. Although a meeting was held in the royal chapel on the advice of His Majesty and some prelates, the reason for this meeting was the visit of Don Gaspar Dávalos to the Alpujarras and other regions, as well as the information provided by the clergy accompanying him.

Regarding this visit, one of the common people of this city, who was very active in public affairs and had connections in the house of Licentiate Pulanco, who was the oldest member of the Royal Council at the time, complained about the abuses and injustices that the clergy were inflicting on the inhabitants of this kingdom without consulting the leaders and people who understood what was beneficial for the inhabitants of this kingdom. He apparently submitted a petition to the Council, signed by some of his friends, complaining about the clergy. He did this in a simple way, believing that he was doing something good for his fellow countrymen, but he made a great mistake and caused a great problem.

The news reached the clergy, who empowered the Abbot of the Church of San Salvador del Albaicín, a certain del Pardo, to take action. They spoke out against the petition that had been submitted and turned against the inhabitants. His Majesty instructed Don Gaspar Dávalos to go to the Alpujarras and other regions of the kingdom to gather information about the life of the inhabitants of this kingdom. Given the people he had dealt with, namely the clergy, His Eminence can imagine what kind of information he would have obtained from this visit. "He [Don Gaspar Dávalos], in reporting on the

opponents, shared this information during the congregation meeting in the royal chapel.



Inquisitor Alonso Manrique de Lara y Solís

During this meeting, numerous chapters were proposed that went against the interests of the inhabitants of this kingdom and violated their privileges and regulations, which are now mentioned in decrees and royal ordinances in favor of some parties in the mentioned new law. However, His Majesty realized that these chapters of the congregation were harmful to his subjects at the time, and only two of them were executed, which were necessary for the operation of the Holy Office, which remained in this city, as established. Furthermore, before His Majesty (may he rest in peace) left the city, he did a great favor for the

inhabitants of this kingdom by summoning the Archbishop of Seville, Don Alonso Manrique [de Lara y Solís], who was then the Inquisitor General. He obtained a general pardon from the Holy Father [Clement VII] for all the inhabitants of this kingdom. This was executed by His Majesty, and he ordered the preachers to proclaim the grace that His Holiness had granted to His Majesty as king and protector of this kingdom, as his ancestors, the Glorious Reyes Católicos, had obtained. This pardon specified and declared that three types of people could not benefit from it: alfaquíes who showed their sect or practice, or quacks who had practiced witchcraft, and I do not remember the third.

So, this pardon was executed and applied by the gentlemen inquisitors of the time, who carried out punishments and executions according to the provisions in the mentioned pardon. As for the aforementioned second chapter, regarding clothing and garments, as detailed in the previous chapter, His Majesty noted that it would lead to ruin. He suspended the chapter on clothing and garments as mentioned in the new law and decided that it would not be executed or enforced. After this decision, a group of about twenty people, including prominent leaders and the Marquis of Mondéjar (may he rest in peace), went to the Royal Palace of the Alhambra to express their gratitude to His Majesty for the grace granted to us in this matter.



**Pope Clement VII,
painted in 1526 by Sebastiano del Piombo**

His Majesty instructed the aforementioned Marquis to write to him about matters concerning his subjects in this kingdom, and to advise him on what would be beneficial for the inhabitants of this kingdom. His Majesty would review each case and approve what is appropriate. The Marquis replied to His Majesty that he would follow his instructions and act as His Majesty commanded.

All of this, and everything previously mentioned, was agreed upon to protect the traditions and traditional clothing of this kingdom, as long as they did not harm the holy Catholic faith. The inhabitants of this kingdom were allowed to enjoy their traditions and pleasures as they had been doing for a long time since their conversion. They were not to be oppressed or harassed in any way, as was established in these new laws based on reports from prelates and other individuals who had reported to His Majesty that this clothing and garments were of Moorish origin and still exhibited Moorish customs and styles in clothing and footwear.

In that regard, Reverend Sir, in my humble opinion and as I have learned from some elders, I consider their reports to be insufficient and inaccurate. This is because it cannot be claimed that the clothing and garments are of Moorish origin or belong to the Moors. It can be said that they are typical clothing of the kingdom and the region, as in all the kingdoms of Castile. Each kingdom and region have different garments, but they are all Christian. Therefore, the clothing and clothing style of this kingdom are very different from the clothing worn by Moors in other areas, such as Al-Andalus and Berberia. Even within those regions, there are significant differences between kingdoms. What they wear on their heads is not identical everywhere, and even in Turkey, there are striking differences between kingdoms



Morisco Clothing

Drawing from the Trachtenbuch by Christoph Weiditz, 1530.

Furthermore, they are all Moors, so it cannot be claimed or said that the clothing of the recently converted is of Moorish origin. This cannot be claimed because the Christians of the Holy House of Jerusalem and the entire realm of the doctors of this Church, as seen in this city, arrived with clothing and headgear similar to those from other places and not Castilian clothing. They write in Arabic, speak in Arabic, and do not know Castilian, but they are Catholic Christians. Because of all this and what I have mentioned earlier, Christianity cannot be found in the clothing or shoes they currently wear, nor in the turbans of the Moors. Furthermore, we remind the elders that this kingdom has changed in terms of clothing and attire, in stark contrast to what they used to wear, and has leaned more towards the

Castilian style. They only wear clean, simple, and inexpensive clothing. They do not use the clothing from their weddings and festive occasions because they reserve it for specific days, inheriting it to enjoy on special occasions or to sell or pawn in case of need. The common clothing among them, both in their homes and outside, consists of very cheap items, like sheets and bedspreads, worth a little more than a ducat, enough to dress a Moorish woman. Furthermore, they often cut these items for various purposes, such as bedding or daily clothing. This can be found in all the Alpujarras, towns, and the entire Jáquima region. For all these reasons, Your Reverence should consider supporting us and showing favor to us on behalf of His Majesty, after reviewing this report, which is widely known and truthful, and in no way harms our holy Catholic faith.

And if my statement or report on this, raises doubts in Your Reverence regarding its truthfulness, I kindly request that you summon people from both the newly converted and other Old Christian individuals, who have traveled and lived in all the aforementioned kingdoms and countries, such as Fez and Turkey, and similar regions. Your Reverence should investigate this to verify and ensure whether this is true and not allow or cause great loss as would happen if this preaching were attempted. Because although some may argue that by adapting to clothing and attire, despite all the losses mentioned, they would have the right to inherit honor and freedoms granted to the inhabitants of this kingdom. We have not seen, Your Reverence, that this has happened in any case, either with newly converted Christians wearing Castilian clothing or with Moors who married Old Christian women. None of them are exempt from the services paid by the residents, nor are the Moors, who

married Old Christian women, exempt from such services or allowed to bear arms. On the contrary, we have seen that in all cases, the newly converted are treated in the same way as the Old Christians in all respects and are often accused of trivial reasons and sentenced to row in galleys, losing their property. Furthermore, officials of justice profit from their possessions in disputes, as well as seizures, as well as acts of corruption. In similar situations, both secular and ecclesiastical courts convict them in various ways. This is all widely known and clear. So that Your Reverence may be more satisfied and informed about everything that has been mentioned, especially regarding the clothing, attire, and shoes of the native women of this kingdom, if clothing or attire or shoes are related to the 'seta,' or not, Your Reverence will conclude that all men, young and old, have fully adopted Castilian clothing and wear it.

Now, if their hearts were wounded, they should consider that changing their clothing would not affect their identity, as men, unlike women, have been educated by wise elders who would not wear it in the same way as women.



Baker's assistant. Note his footwear, a type of clog to walk over the dirt on the street. Drawing by Christoph Weiditz, 1529.

From all this, Your Highness can certainly deduce that clothing and footwear do not affect identity, for the aforementioned reasons, as men have adopted this practice simply because they have judged that Castilian clothing is more suitable and honorable for them. They would lose nothing by this change, as they can replace their worn-out clothing with new Castilian clothing, as they currently do voluntarily and without any pressure or inconvenience. Given that there is no loss, all have adopted this practice for more than forty years, as mentioned earlier. Furthermore, Your Highness mentioned to me that if women were to wear Castilian clothing, this could bring benefits and freedoms to the inhabitants of this kingdom. You wondered whether the opinion of the men who engage in constant trade between old Christians and their countrymen would be considered, as they are respected by the men who

walk the streets and engage in constant trade between old Christians and their countrymen.



**Morisco from the kingdom of Granada, walking in the countryside with his wife and children.
Drawing by Christoph Weiditz, 1529.**

Regarding the respect that male men have received for wearing Castilian clothing and footwear, both from secular and ecclesiastical authorities, as well as the willingness of the latter to favor them with His Majesty, it is noted that they have adopted Castilian clothing and footwear for the past thirty-five or forty years, in the hope that His Majesty would grant them freedoms and exemptions from taxes, as well as general permission to bear arms. To date, we have not seen any harmful consequences of these changes, quite the opposite. They feel more mistreated and disadvantaged every day in all areas, both by secular authorities and their officials, as well as by ecclesiastical authorities. This fact is widely known and requires no formal investigation. It is reasonable

to think that if His Majesty were to grant these concessions and freedoms, this would not constitute treason on the part of the inhabitants of this kingdom. In the past sixty-six years, no significant treason has been documented, apart from some isolated cases in which desperate and oppressed individuals chose to emigrate or take inappropriate actions. In general, there is no evidence of treason against the royal crown. The inhabitants have always obeyed the orders of the king and his ministers. It is relevant to note that during the uprising in the Albaicín, the rebels were not seeking treason against the king but rather standing up for the privileges established in the capitulations. The uprising began because two or three of them had killed the alguacil Barrionuevo, who was trying to convert a woman to the Christian faith against her will. The alguaciles had detained all women and men of Moorish descent who were of old Christian origin. When the aforementioned woman cried out, 'Help me for the sake of God,' the alguacil refused to release her. This situation led to the murder of the alguacil, resulting in the uprising in the Albaicín. As they rose up, they said to each other that they had no choice but to fight for the conditions laid out in the capitulations. These capitulations were the agreement signed by the Catholic Monarchs and King Muley Avdari [Boabdil], who once ruled over this kingdom. Therefore, it cannot be claimed that they rebelled against their king but rather in favor of their agreement and capitulation, with the intention that it would be respected and adhered to. In this way, the uprising in the Albaicín arose, spreading to other regions such as Lanjarón, Landarax, Alpujarra, Vélez, and Guájjar. The main cause of this uprising was the perception that the conditions laid out in the capitulations were being violated. It was not about dissatisfaction with

their king in general, but about defending what had been agreed upon.

If one examines the loyalty of the inhabitants of this kingdom during the period of the Comunidades, one will find that, unlike other kingdoms and provinces of Castile and Andalusia that rebelled against their king, there was no disruption against His Highness in this kingdom. On the contrary, when necessary, the Marqués de Mondéjar and his brothers, Don Antonio and Don Bernardino (who have all passed away), led expeditions to fight in Baza, which had also rebelled, and in Guesca, which had also rebelled. Among the captains they led, three were of our own nationality: Don Hernando de Córdoba, Diego López a Una Jara, and Diego López Hacera, along with soldiers and warriors of native origin from the region, all fighting in support of their king and the marquis as their supreme commander. This was widely known and documented, demonstrating that the inhabitants of this kingdom have not committed treason against their monarch since the conquest by the Reyes Católicos. Therefore, out of justice and fairness, they should receive more favorable treatment than other regions and provinces, preserving their privileges and freedoms and not losing any provision that was established in their favor, as unfortunately happened with some provisions after the mentioned Comunidades uprising, up to the time when Alcalde Ronquillo⁷ hanged the Bishop of Zamora⁸.

⁷ El licenciado Rodrigo Ronquillo, alcalde de Casa y Corte.

⁸ On January 4, 1507, Antonio de Acuña, who had previously been ambassador to the Pope for Philip I, was appointed Bishop of Zamora in Rome by Pope Julius II without the required royal presentation. In 1521, Antonio de Acuña took an active part in the Spanish Civil War with his comunero troops. For this, he was condemned by Emperor



Hernando de Córdoba, the Great Captain, 1601.

Author: Custos, Dominicus (ca. 1559-1615).

Your Reverence should know that Don Juan de Granada, the brother of the aforementioned King Muley Babdali [Boabdil], participated in the Comunidades. At that time, he was captured by those who supported His Highness's cause and appointed as a general captain. He vigorously defended the service to His Majesty and succeeded in bringing as much peace as possible. He earned recognition and rewards from the Royal Crown and its successors, but

Charles V. On March 24, Antonio de Acuña was executed by garrote vil in the castle of Simancas by Rodrigo Ronquillo y Briceño.

unfortunately, his courage and loyalty were not adequately acknowledged.



Morisco Clothing
Drawing by Christoph Weiditz, 1529.

What I want to emphasize, and I hope my words make this clear, is that the measures taken in this ordinance, currently being enforced, are not in the interest of the service to Our Lord God or the Holy Catholic Faith or His Majesty, or those who may succeed him, but rather, they may cause significant harm to the Royal Crown, even more so than in any other kingdom in Castile. It is widely known, in both silk production and tithe collection, as well as in clothing making services and tax collection and other revenues, that this kingdom brings significant benefits to the Royal Crown.

Therefore, Your Reverence should not think that incorporating the provisions of this ordinance will lead to full benefit. Instead, it is better that time takes

its course without pressure or coercion, with good governance and moderation, both in secular and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. So that Your Reverence can better understand the benefits and honor that the inhabitants could receive by adopting the clothing of the old Christians, you should consider that the Moriscos fully comply with the clothing and appearance of the old Christians, which has granted them advantages over the recently converted in terms of freedom, as in the case of native women's marriages. This could encourage more people to agree to such a significant change in their lives, as previously mentioned. .

This is widely known, and given everything mentioned earlier, it is advisable that His Majesty be informed about the positive and negative aspects that affect the inhabitants in this matter. His Majesty will assess and decide what is most appropriate for his service and the well-being of his subjects. This will be achieved with the support of Your Reverence, who is responsible for these matters related to the ordinance.

With all of this and considering everything mentioned earlier, I conclude regarding clothing and attire, and I urge that a solution be found for this heavy burden imposed on the inhabitants. They could benefit from these garments for a period of two years, as they are typically inherited for three or four generations, as I mentioned earlier. The requirement that they be broken and destroyed within a year leads to unnecessary loss, especially for valuable items that last between twenty and forty years. Furthermore, limiting permits for rich possessions to no more than a year obstructs their use, and the enforcement and

penalties established in the said ordinance only serve to create more problems.



**Moriscos covering their faces
Drawing by Christoph Weiditz, 1529.**

To make matters worse, it is ordered that once the ordinance is announced, native women must show their faces in public, attracting unwanted attention and fueling reports driven by personal interests. This often leads to unjust accusations and the exploitation of associated penalties by officials and judicial officers. All of this, along with everything mentioned earlier, causes significant harm, distress, and loss, both in terms of property and personal well-being.



Pedro Ramirez de Alba

Regarding the third chapter, which concerns matters related to weddings, festivities, zambra, and the instruments used in them, as well as other issues included and mentioned in the said ordinance, I declare that during my tenure as Archbishop, this provision has not been publicly announced or proclaimed, despite its foundation being established during the meeting, as I mentioned earlier. Furthermore, only the zambra and the instruments associated with it were regulated by the old inquisitors, and until then, the said zambra and the corresponding instruments were allowed, with the consent of all archbishops up to Archbishop Don Pedro de Alba⁹.

Based on the information provided to the said inquisitors, some of which was true and some not, it

⁹ Pedro Ramirez de Alba, archbishop of Granada from 1526 to 1528, is the subject of this.

was concluded that the hurdy-gurdy and the related instruments were not a matter that affected Catholic faith, nor were they connected to Muslim practices or beliefs, or with controversies related to the Islamic religion. It is important to note that the hurdy-gurdy and the associated instruments were not considered offensive to the Catholic faith. Furthermore, practices and musical instruments of the hurdy-gurdy type had no relation to the customs or rituals of Muslims. It is important to note that devout Muslims did not participate in celebrations with hurdy-gurdies and did not enjoy them. In some cases, when Muslim leaders such as *alfaquíes* or mayors were invited to festive events, the said hurdy-gurdy and the related instruments were avoided from being played until these leaders withdrew from the celebration or entertainment location. An illustrative example of this is the case of the Moorish king, who, when traveling with his entourage, including hurdy-gurdies and other hurdy-gurdy-like instruments, upon arrival at the Río Darro gate and crossing the Albaicín, ordered the music to stop until he had passed the Puerta delvira. This was done because in the Albaicín lived mayors and *alfaquíes* who claimed to be devout Muslims, and this courtesy was shown to avoid making them uncomfortable or annoyed by the music while they were present at that location.



Part of the paintings of the “Casitas del Partal”, Alhambra, during the reign of Yusuf I (1340-1350), scientifically completed by Manuel López Reche. Scenes of musicians playing musical instruments can be seen at the bottom.

Since this information is widely known to those familiar with this subject, how can it be claimed that the instruments and celebrations of the Muslims are nothing more than vices and pleasures? No legitimate inquiry or examination can be found or justified on this subject because, as I mentioned earlier, these instruments, zambra, and celebrations are simply common practices in various regions and provinces.

Your Highness can verify that the instruments and celebrations in this kingdom significantly differ from those in Fez, other parts of Berberia, or Turkey. There are notable differences in the instruments and songs used here compared to other places. If these festivities and rituals were Muslim ceremonies or practices, they should be uniform everywhere to conform to their beliefs, but this is not the case. Nevertheless, this cannot be confirmed or examined due to the aforementioned reasons.

I also remind the older people who can support my stance. During the reign of the Holy Archbishop Don Hernando de Talavera, the first archbishop appointed by the Reyes Católicos in this city, there were alfaquíes and teachers who received a salary from his household and provided information to His Highness regarding religious matters and matters contrary to it. Regarding this matter, I can confirm that the wise Archbishop Santo Don Hernando de Talavera, the first archbishop appointed by the Reyes Católicos in this city, was well aware of these matters due to his deep knowledge and wisdom, as well as through various books containing his extensive learning. During his tenure, he allowed the zambra with all its instruments to be celebrated because this festival was a source of joy and happiness for the local population and was used on various occasions, such as weddings and other festive events. Furthermore, during the Corpus Christi celebrations, the holy sacraments were carried in procession, accompanied by musicians and their instruments, each with their flags.



Fray Hernando de Talavera, painted by Juan de Valdés Leal (1622-1690). Museum of Fine Arts of Seville.

At that time, the Corpus Christi festivities were just as solemn and recognized as those celebrated here,

and nothing was done that was contrary to the Catholic faith during these celebrations. Furthermore, I can add that I had the honor of serving as a page for more than three years under Archbishop Santo Don Hernando, and I witnessed a visit he made to all the Alpujarras. In the town of Vélez, for example, he stayed in a house above the town called Albarba, and the church was at a considerable distance, similar to that between the royal audience and the Plaza de Bibarrambla. During his stay, the zambra awaited him at the door of his inn. When he wanted to proceed to the church, all the musicians and the instruments of the zambra played as they walked ahead of him, followed by the crowd that gathered to accompany him to the entrance of the church.

During the Mass, when the archbishop led personally, the zambra stood alongside the clergy in the choir. During the moments when the organs needed to be played, because there were none, the zambra and its instruments played instead. Furthermore, during the Mass, at certain words in Arabic, especially when he said "dominus bobyspon," the archbishop pronounced "barafiqun." I remember these details very clearly, as if it happened yesterday, and this took place in the year 1502. If there is anyone who served the said revered Archbishop at that time, although I think it is unlikely that anyone has remained known in this land, they might recall some details of what I say. Thus, the Archbishop used to visit the Alpujarras and the main towns and villages in the region. In times of drought, he organized processions and gathered people to request water. He went to the La Zubia monastery, dedicated to Lord San Francisco, which belonged to his order. There he ordered that everyone should come with

bared heads, accompanied by a cross and clergy, to request water. Furthermore, he instructed the new converts to request the water in their own language, as they usually did in Arabic. This occurred around the year six or seven.



Black Slave (Weiditz, 1529)

As he was well acquainted with the truth and had an understanding of both internal and external matters related to faith, as well as matters in conflict with it, His Excellency would not have allowed such practices. Being such a virtuous person, his wisdom and knowledge brought satisfaction in all directions and delighted those who understood and knew his righteousness. It is worth noting that the black slaves from Guinea, who had a lower social class than the aforementioned, had the freedom to sing and dance with their instruments and sing their songs in their own languages as a form of expression and entertainment that brought joy and comfort to those who understood their meaning.



Names of Morisco Clothing

Well, what reason and cause can be defended, and I do, for all of the above in favor of the inhabitants of this kingdom? As I mentioned earlier, this is not an insult to the holy Catholic faith, but rather a common practice in kingdoms and customs of the province, a pleasant custom at their weddings and festivals. It has never been contrary to the holy Catholic faith. If it is claimed that the doors remain closed at weddings and they do not go to church, that is not true in the allowed cases because they do attend the church service. In fact, you will find no such claim because the doors of weddings are always wide open, both for the old Christians and for those of our nation. At weddings, both the old Christians and the inhabitants eat and drink, which does not happen at

Castilian weddings. After the festival and for various reasons, the doors must be closed at night, as is customary and as the old Christians do.

As for the fourth chapter, which speaks of open doors on Fridays, Sundays, and holidays, the regulation on this subject causes both the state and the inhabitants considerable damage. The inhabitants have little interaction and conversation with other people due to the lack of servants and the presence of thieves. Since their houses have no doors or locks, they cannot securely lock up everything they own. Therefore, keeping doors and houses without locks open results in significant damage and gives freedom to the aforementioned thieves and people of questionable reputation. Keeping the doors open has nothing to do with insulting the holy Catholic faith, and such an assumption cannot be made or understood.

In the event that someone intends to practice their sect, they cannot do so in any way. And if they were to do so, it would have to be done at night because the practice of the sect of the Moors requires isolation, as I mentioned earlier, and does not allow for company, as in the confessional. Therefore, you will find that in Moorish times, no religious person who wanted to distinguish themselves as such withdrew from the village to a remote hermitage without the company of men or women. This behavior was observed both in this kingdom and in other Moorish kingdoms. In summary, it makes no sense to keep the doors open or closed for those whose intentions are wrong because they can carry out their actions in secret whenever they want. For those who act against the holy Catholic faith, there

are the lords inquisitors to punish them as appropriate.

As for the fifth chapter, which speaks of baths where ceremonies and customs of the Moors can be performed, this cannot be verified in any way and cannot be accepted as valid evidence in a lawsuit. In the baths, both Christian men, young and old, gather. Some baths in this city have both old and new Christian bath attendants. In places where many people gather, it is impossible to perform ceremonies or customs because they require isolation and cannot be done in public or in a clean environment without the risk of suspicion of impurity. This is confirmed by old and wise men. The baths are places of impurity and other things because sick people with various diseases and injuries and wounds come there to bathe. And people with dirty professions like fishermen, blacksmiths, charcoal burners, oil makers, butchers, and linen makers also come to bathe.

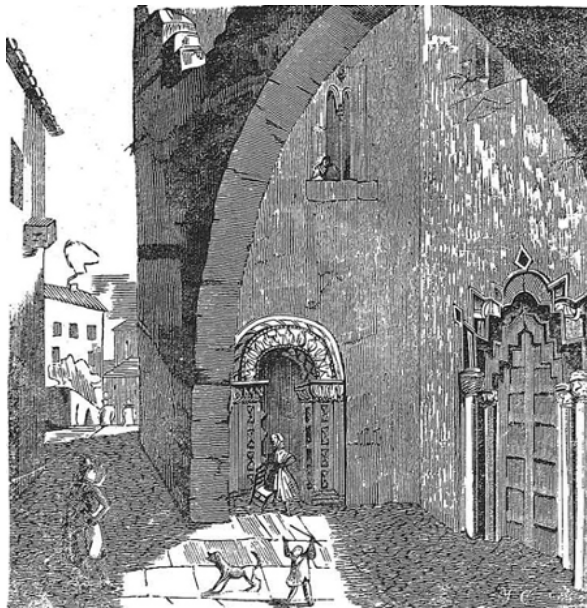
In the baths, there are also butchers, both inside and outside the slaughterhouse, as well as workers in dirty places like trash bins and sewers, where they gather to collect dirt from streets and houses, among other people who do dirty and diverse jobs. All these people come together especially when they need to clean up this mentioned dirt and other needs that arise in the baths themselves, such as setting up rooms and buckets, and draining the water in such a way that, although they wash themselves in the baths with the water poured by the washed men, they cannot clean the bath from the existing dirt,



The spacious and central warm room (bayt al-wasti) of the bathhouse of Jaén - Photo: Jose Luis Filpo Cabana.

In an environment filled with suspicions and filth, it is inconceivable that anyone would want to use the sect of the Moors, as they would do so in a place so suspicious and dirty, even if the dirt is not visible due to the large amount of water used in washing. Furthermore, they would not do this in a public place, as, as I mentioned earlier, rituals and ceremonies require solitude and a clean place, not a place as suspicious and public as baths. Baths are built to cleanse oneself of all dirt, as they remove the sweat from the bodies, as well as impurities and bad moods, with the abundant warm water they have. Bathing guests also clean themselves by rubbing with sea salt and using things like cushions and sheepskins to clean their feet and heels. In short, in baths, some impurities are removed, both in Christians and in recent converts. It is also said that women, when they visit baths, meet their lovers to

arrange to meet at these places. This cannot be confirmed in any way, as when women, both old Christians and recent converts, are in baths, a large number of women and bathers gather to wash them, and during the time when women are in the bath, no man comes through the door. Since this is so widely known, how can we then claim that they gather in baths to commit such sins? Some of these women, both old and new, may have bad intentions to meet their lovers, but they would have better chances of doing so in other places, such as visiting churches, anniversaries, or festivals, where women and men meet.



Exterior of the Arab baths in Murcia.
Source: Ivo de la Cortina / Félix Batanero¹⁰.

¹⁰ See: *Semanario Pintoresco Español*, 25-2-1844, p. 61. Thanks to: Joaquín Martínez Pino (C.A. UNED Madrid).

Moreover, they could coordinate meetings in inns along the way. I think, for some of these reasons, the archbishop had ordered that the washings should be done early in the fasting period, before prayer, to prevent some of the situations mentioned above. Nevertheless, if the baths were removed and not available, what would the sick and the people who need to cleanse themselves from the mentioned impurities do?

What do the inhabitants of Castile do regarding bathing? One could argue that they have the freedom to wash themselves wherever they want, thus avoiding the mentioned baths. However, such freedoms are not available in this kingdom due to the reasons mentioned earlier, related to the filth and the people who work there, more so than in other kingdoms. It is important to note that throughout Castile, there were public baths, and even in the times of the Holy Scripture, bathing is mentioned. They were not abandoned in Castile because baths help relax the muscles and veins of people, which is beneficial for both their personal well-being and their preparedness for war. However, in this kingdom, the native people are not a warrior people who benefit from baths to relax muscles and veins. Due to the reasons mentioned earlier, they have an extreme need for baths. One could argue that those who need to wash or bathe could use natural water sources, but this would require them to spend three or four ducats, which can be avoided with eight maravedíes. Furthermore, they would be better cared for and cleaned in public baths than in private homes, as only one out of a hundred could afford this. Returning to the subject, anyone who needs to wash or bathe could apply for a medical license, as discussed earlier for Your Highness. However, this license would be

delayed by three or four days due to the need for the doctor to assess the situation, and a fee would have to be paid. Then the license would need to be approved by the parish priest and the provisor, resulting in another seven or eight days of delay and additional costs for the doctor, priest, provisor, and notary, which would amount to six or seven Reales.



Auto-da-fé of the Holy Inquisition, painted by Pedro Berruguete, ca. 1495 - Museo del Prado.

Therefore, only one out of a hundred would have the linguistic and mental skills to apply for this license. Considering all of this and the awareness of the need through all the mentioned means, all would be

subject to the penalties established in the original provisions, and we could even argue that this could fall under the jurisdiction of the Holy Office of the Inquisition due to ceremonial matters, regardless of whether they acted in accordance or not. What would be the benefit of all this, apart from the loss of people and goods in various areas?

The initial effects of these losses have already been visible since the day the aforementioned ordinance was proclaimed, both in this city and beyond. In all places, whether it concerns covering or uncovering faces, there have been many attempts at bribery, harassment, and fines, as in the case of doors left open or slightly ajar, as if they were in windy areas. This is particularly evident in this kingdom, where to avoid the aforementioned harassment, many people have been fined. Thus, fines of thirty or forty reales, or twenty reales, have been imposed for leaving doors open. Fines of twenty or thirty reales have also been imposed for mistakes such as singing in Moorish style or using Moorish nicknames that reveal the person's identity and origin. These are only the beginnings, with no limit, as the penalties will increase over time.

As previously mentioned, all trust is based on personal interests in the entire judicial system of this kingdom, except for this Royal Audience where Your Reverence, the judges, and their officials sit. For this reason, Your Reverence alone will not be sufficient to remedy or terminate the injustices and damages that affect both the residents of this kingdom in general and in particular. These practices bring no positive benefits through the provisions of the pragmatics; they only impose additional burdens and increase pressure. As for covering faces, it could be argued

that this serves a certain ceremonial purpose. Many old Christian women do this to avoid being recognized in places where they prefer to remain anonymous. Similarly, new Christian women do this to prevent men from falling into mortal sins when they see an attractive woman they could fall in love with because they follow her both in sin and in virtue in their desire to marry her. On the other hand, less attractive women do this to prevent marriage candidates from appearing because they want to avoid marriage.



Around 1900, there were still women in Murcia seen walking around in clothing that allowed them to cover their faces.

Ultimately, this is about modesty and honesty to avoid the aforementioned situations. Furthermore, it is mentioned in the Holy Scriptures that if Bathsheba had not bathed, David would not have sinned, even though he was a prophet. This view was shared in a conversation I had with Don Gaspar de Ávalos, before he became archbishop, between Your Excellency and some nobles of our nation, where we

debated the topic of face-covering. So, since the Catholic faith is not offended by the use or removal of the face veil, for what reason or justification can the inhabitants of this land be punished, harassed, or compelled to follow this custom? As for the use of Moorish nicknames as a means of identifying people and dealing with Castilian surnames, it is important to note that this only leads to the loss of Moorish individuals and lineages. They will not know who they are dealing with, buying from, or marrying if they do not know their true origin. What is the benefit of losing these valuable memories, whether it be related to clothing, nicknames, or other matters mentioned? Is it not shameful that these memories are lost, which offer important lessons about how the Reyes conquered these kingdoms? The intention of the Reyes Católicos was to protect this kingdom in the same way as the previous archbishops did. The emperors and the Reyes Católicos also intended to preserve the memories of the royal houses of the Alhambra and other similar memories so that they remained in their original form as they were in the time of the Moorish kings, making the deeds of their Highnesses clearer and more visible.

Memories from the time of the Moors were also preserved in important cities such as Seville and Córdoba, so that future kings could remember those they had conquered. This is indisputable. As for the costs of the conquest of this kingdom by the Reyes Católicos, it cost an unimaginable number of knights and resources in wars and royal weddings, totaling millions of gold coins. All of this was necessary to win and maintain the wars against the Moors of this kingdom. Therefore, it is only right to acknowledge and appreciate what Your Highness has gained and what it has cost. We must not allow all of this to be

lost in a short time due to the burdens imposed by this pragmatism, as they cannot be fulfilled in any way.



**Patio de Los Leones of the Alhambra in Granada, ca. 1870.
Painter: John Singer Sargent (1856-1925)**

With regard to the provision of the pragmatic regulation that ordered the expulsion of the Gacis and Alarabes due to the complications of their coexistence with the original inhabitants, this measure had already been announced several times but not implemented. It would be unjust and a heavy burden on the conscience to attempt it now, considering that the majority of the mentioned individuals are original or semi-native citizens who have married, had children, and grandchildren, and this is widely known. After they were liberated in this kingdom, an immeasurable amount of money was spent to free the original inhabitants from their owners, and they considered this an act of generosity,

as they had acquired the Gacis¹¹ or Alarabes¹² as slaves at no cost, by buying them for a very low price from the people who had captured them in war. The original inhabitants then liberated them for large amounts of Maravedis, which led to disputes and conflicts between them and the Gacis or Alarabes. All of this could have been avoided if His Majesty had ordered that no Gaci, Alarabe, or foreigner in this kingdom should be sold or liberated, and that the owners who had captured or enslaved them should send them to Castile to be sold or liberated there, without considering it as an act of generosity or trade, as has been the case until now.

Since His Majesty can remedy this as he wishes by ordering that all Gacis, Alarabes, and foreigners who are free and have been liberated but are not original or former inhabitants of this kingdom should leave the land, under heavy penalties for non-compliance, except for women who are vulnerable. From this moment on, no old Christian, regardless of their social status, nor members of other nations, may sell or liberate any Gaci, Alarabe, or foreigner, under the threat of severe sanctions. Those who are captured from now on will also be sent to Castile.

¹¹ In the context of the Morisco Revolt of 1566, the term "gacis" was used to refer to Muslims who had been freed from slavery by their Christian masters. These Muslims were considered traitors by the Morisco rebels. It is likely that most gacis were then Berbers.

¹² In 1566 werd de term "alarabes" gebruikt om te verwijzen naar de moslims van Arabische afkomst. Deze moslims waren niet bereid om de christelijke cultuur en religie te assimileren. In 1566, the term "alarabes" was used to refer to Muslims of Arab descent. These Muslims were unwilling to assimilate into Christian culture and religion. These Muslims were considered the main instigators of the revolt and were persecuted and killed by the Spanish army.



Saint Nicholas, Saint Peter, and Saint Clara, 14th century. Palma de Mallorca Museum. As we can see in the 14th-century painting, there were already many Blacks in Spain.

This would be just and advantageous for His Majesty, and His Excellency should assist and cooperate in its execution. As for the blacks who have served some natural Moors, what harm can the holy Catholic faith suffer because some of the natural Moors have blacks as slaves?

Have the Negroes converted to Islam because the natives influenced them, or do they or their masters know Islamic practices? Must they all have the same kind of work, such as carrying jugs, meat, or heavy loads, or plowing the land? Because the natives do

not serve each other, they only work on certain days and not constantly in their homes. So what is the sin if no native can possess a black man or woman as a slave, considering the aforementioned needs? If someone claims that this would increase the number of Negroes and natives and create the possibility of treason, he must know that at one point, there were twenty thousand Negroes in the hands of the natives in Granada, but their number has now dropped to four hundred; at present, there aren't even one hundred licenses. To inform Your Reverence about the tensions between the clergy and the natives, in addition to what I previously mentioned about the meeting in the royal chapel against the natives concerning the issue of the Negroes, they were also the ones arguing that the presence of Negroes should not be allowed. Therefore, Your Reverence must strongly advocate that the natives can have black slaves to serve them, just like the old Christians, and that the restrictions of the pragmatic decree do not apply to those Negroes who have been freed and have married natives. Regarding the chapter of the pragmatic decree that concerns the use of the Arabic language, I find no objection to permitting the use of Arabic for two important reasons. Firstly, this does not affect or contradict the Catholic faith since, as I mentioned earlier, Catholic Christians from the Holy Church of Jerusalem and throughout our entire Christian realm, speak and write Arabic in many aspects, including the Gospels and other sciences, wisdom, laws, and everything related to Christianity, as well as in writings and contracts.

However, there is no evidence that documents, contracts, or testaments in Arabic have been drawn up in this realm, as mentioned in the pragmatic decree. Furthermore, it is important to note that in

the Christian kingdoms of the Holy Church of Jerusalem and similar regions, where Catholic Christians come from noble families, Arabic is also spoken and written in matters related to the Catholic faith and other Christian topics. Even on the island of Malta, where Catholic Christians use Arabic, they do not speak Castilian, not even Latin, as they hold masses in Arabic in many of these areas, including this island. However, it is important to note that, although people would like to learn the Castilian language, they face significant difficulties that prevent them from doing so. It is beyond their ability to fulfill this desire due to the enormous difficulties posed by the Arabic language. In many villages and places, both inside and outside this city, there are people who cannot speak Arabic with each other due to dialectal differences, making it even more challenging to force them to learn the Castilian language. This difficulty arises from the variability of their own language, and it is not within their power to change their way of speaking due to their deeply rooted habits and customs.

I assure Your Reverence that the majority of recent converts in this realm, even if given twenty years, could not learn it in three years, let alone in three years; and there will be some and many who, even if they were to do their utmost, could not learn it, as their sole purpose would be to deprive them of their properties and expel them from the realm, as prescribed by the penalty of the pragmatic decree. So, in this case, it will not be the will of our Lord God or His Majesty, and the aforementioned natives will find no relief. Since this is very clear, how can they be expected to implement it in three years? It is very clear that the one who ordered this is bent on the destruction of the realm and its inhabitants, which is

true due to the aforementioned reasons and will be explained later.

As for the aforementioned pragmatic decree, which stipulates those documents, titles, books, and everything written in Arabic must be submitted to Your Reverence and anyone designated for this purpose in this city within thirty days of the proclamation, under the penalties mentioned in this article, the clear disadvantage that arises in the event that there are no documents, titles, books, or any other written documents in Arabic must be considered. Let us delve into the clear disadvantage that arises when there are no documents, titles, books, or any other written documents in Arabic. Documents and titles are of the utmost importance for your disputes, especially regarding the commission of Dr. Santiago, who does not and will not judge without taking titles into account. Let us assume that these documents can be translated into Spanish. In what timeframe could this task be accomplished? How many translators would be required to undertake the translation for the entire realm?

Since we currently have only one translator, it would be obvious that these documents would be lost in Arabic. Furthermore, they would lose all their value after three years, as stipulated in the pragmatic decree. What can be lost in terms of heritage and historical records if the elders have no documents to recognize their properties? How can function traders and professionals, who necessarily must keep records in Arabic and do not know any other language? Even if some of them knew Spanish, they are obliged to provide detailed information in Arabic, as they would otherwise not be able to meet the people who come to

them to sell their products, such as silk. Certificates must be provided regarding both the price and weight and value, as well as details about the payments to be made to the owners, as mentioned earlier. The market supervisors (master) who track the production of silk from each area or region can only write in Arabic.



Almotacén¹³ (Market Master)

These market supervisors must maintain accurate administrative records of what the traders are selling since there is no room for errors in the silk tax. This applies to both the times when they bring their products to the market for sale and the occasions when the silk tax collector comes to collect taxes. In all these administrative records, no Spanish is used but are kept in the book of the lessor and the traders, and everything is documented in Arabic. So, what remains for them in similar

¹³ An almotacén was a public official responsible for overseeing markets and the quality of products. These officials had the authority to inspect products, set prices, and punish traders who committed irregularities.

situations when this is done in the mentioned way, or how can they defend their interests? Let's now focus on something even more important, namely the administrative data that the recent converts must keep to interact with each other, especially when it's not about mandatory matters or general knowledge but about administrative data in their debt and credit books, as well as in their specific professions. For example, tailors must keep a record of each silk and yarn strand, as well as any other material used for making clothing.



Dyer

The textile dyer or his apprentice must register the color of each material, add a note about the weight, and record both the owner of the material in general and of each strand separately. These records are attached to each material and dyed together with the material, so that the records of each material and transaction are not lost. This is what they have done so far, and they do not know how to do it

differently. So, what solution would they have if they were forced to stop this within three years? As I mentioned earlier, most recent converts, even if they would like to learn Spanish, would not be able to do so. In such situations, all of this leads to significant damage and loss, and it is evident that no positive benefit arises from it, and no good result is achieved. Furthermore, since all of this is lawful and does not contradict the Catholic faith, as explained earlier, why would His Majesty allow this great novelty and destruction to take place? There seems to be no benefit in it, and it is important to note that these practices have been carried out during the terms of all archbishops and bishops who have served in this kingdom without objections in similar cases.

So, it seems astonishing that after sixty years, so many disadvantages have been discovered in a similar case as described and explained in the mentioned pragmatic regulation. And as I mentioned earlier, I see in none of the articles of the mentioned pragmatic regulation any provision that, in my humble opinion, is favorable to the kingdom or to the loyal subjects of His Majesty or serves for the honor of God or His Majesty. On the contrary, these provisions lead to the loss of lives and property, as is beginning to become apparent in the implementation of these regulations in the villages and towns outside the city. This applies both to the issue of women's veiling and to the closing of doors and the use of nicknames, among other measures. Therefore, I implore you, in God's name, to investigate and consider everything contained in this memorial with compassion for the inhabitants of this kingdom, who are faithful servants of His Majesty in every respect.

We should not judge all Moors based on a few bad elements that can exist out of necessity in any nation.



**Moriscos in the Vega, with Granada in the background.
Engraving by Joris Hoefnagle (1565).**

If there have been, and still are, individuals in this kingdom, such as thieves and desperados, it is primarily due to the constant pressure they are subjected to and the lack of refuge where they can mend their ways. Neither monasteries nor churches take them in. Therefore, it is necessary for anyone who has no other option to gather and, at the risk of their own lives, avoid blaming the entire nation and tarnishing its reputation, as is the case with desperate individuals. The solution to this problem, or at least a part of it, lies primarily with His Majesty and the upright advisors who consult with him. The lordships should be restored, and anyone who has committed serious crimes, such as murder

or other offenses, should be brought to justice. The rulers of these lordships should be severely punished if they do not watch who enters their land and properties. They should constantly guard their territory and, under no circumstances, allow unworthy behavior. Furthermore, they should demand regular reports on the activities of their subjects and be aware of their lives. In this way, the serious damage affecting this kingdom can be significantly reduced. Indeed, in some places, it has been strikingly observed that some desperate old Christians and soldiers commit numerous crimes on the roads because they believe the Moors are responsible. This has come to light in some legal proceedings where, on their deathbeds, they confess to the crimes they had attributed to the Moors. Reverend sir, I have come to this conclusion based on my experience and involvement in very relevant matters, both with lords and archbishops, inquisitors, and at the court of their Highnesses and their Majesties. Therefore, I have dared to present this relation to your very reverend person, based on everything my memory has retained regarding the content of this memorial. I implore your very reverend person, in the service of God, not to attribute this to malice, for my intention was and still is very noble, namely, to serve God our Lord, His Majesty, and the inhabitants, His subjects in this kingdom, who are my blood and to whom I am obliged not to withhold support.

I kiss the very illustrious and very reverend hands of your very reverend person.

Francisco Nuñez Muley.

The most important aspect concerning the writings in Arabic pertains to the records of services to His Majesty and the distribution of weapons and equipment, both in this city and in the other towns, villages, and municipalities of this kingdom where the distributions occur, both in general and in particular, of the aforementioned services and war equipment. None of these distributions can take place without relying on the records and reports that exist among the original inhabitants to execute them correctly. They can do it in no other way, and this is widely known and requires no investigation.

Regarding the books of the distributions of the said services taking place in this city, such books have always existed, and they still exist today, one in Arabic and one in Castilian. Through these books, the distribution of all burdens in this city occurs. Receipts are issued stating what everyone must pay, both in Arabic and in Castilian, and with these receipts, the tax collectors collect the said services, and the executors carry them out. This is a common practice and has been followed since the year 1502 or 1503 when the original inhabitants of this kingdom began to serve His Majesty with the mentioned services, without any change in this process throughout that time.

This is the explanation maintained in the said books or receipts so that everyone knows what they have to pay and why it has been assigned to them. Someone who understands the Castilian language can obtain this information from the old Christian writers who record them, for they have always been and still are. Those who do not understand the Castilian language can obtain this information from the scribe who records it in Arabic.

This is how it has been used and maintained in this city and throughout the kingdom. Now, how can these officials perform their duties if they do not have these books? They have no other source or method to prevent the loss of His Majesty's services and his subjects. These records and books, both in their general and specific forms, were created to ensure that the mentioned distributions are carried out correctly. If the said pragmatic provision were to be applied in this area, it would not be in His Majesty's interest, and the kingdom would be left in the dark, and the original inhabitants would suffer the consequences. This also applies to the nicknames specified in the said books, even though they do not mention "Moorish nickname" in the distribution of services, for people are not identified by their nicknames, but everything is recorded in the respective books and receipts.

Allow me to illustrate this as follows: Imagine if His Majesty and the members of his council and the prelates who have issued this pragmatic provision were to decide that in all its chapters it would be stipulated that Christians should dress like Moors, marry in the manner of Moors, use exclusively Moorish music and their instruments, bathe like the Moors, speak exclusively in Arabic, should not have any Castilian name or nickname, keep their doors open, and that Christian women should cover themselves like Moorish women do, and that no communication, books, titles, or anything else in Castilian would be allowed but only in Arabic, alongside other restrictions I do not mention here to avoid becoming too lengthy.

So, I am not yet saying that everything I have mentioned must be done in Arabic but in Castilian, and that their Castilian writings and books, which are closer to Castilian, would replace the distributions, books, and records recorded in Arabic, as stipulated in the terms of the decree, under the penalties set forth therein. This would allow Christians to carry out the services they render to His Majesty in the same way as the original inhabitants of this kingdom.

Furthermore, they could fulfill all other tasks related to accounts and crafts in various ways, which Christians throughout this kingdom could fulfill, for otherwise, they would suffer and encounter difficulties. This would be evident, as I have mentioned. If this were the case, as it is a command of God, as stated in the Ten Commandments: 'You shall love the Lord, your God, above all and your neighbor as yourself,' the said command indicates that one should wish for the neighbor what one would wish for oneself and should command him what one could command oneself, for someone who cannot be a judge over themselves cannot be a general judge¹⁴.

¹⁴ **FOULCHÉ-DELBOSCH, R.** (1899). Memorial de Francisco Nuñez Muley. *Revue hispanique*. N° 18, Paris. pp. 205-239 (Manuscrito R. 29, pp. 321-341 en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid).

3 The Consequences

The Revolt of the Low Countries: A Struggle for Freedom and Tolerance

In the 16th and 17th centuries, the Low Countries experienced a period of rebellion and resistance against the Catholic kings of Spain. This period, known as the Eighty Years' War, was not just a struggle for political independence but also a quest for religious tolerance and freedom of belief and expression.

The Society of the Low Countries

The Low Countries, consisting of seventeen provinces, were a prosperous region in the heart of Europe. Cities like Antwerp, Bruges, and Amsterdam were important trade centers where goods, ideas, and cultural influences from all over Europe converged. In this melting pot of cultures, people of different backgrounds and religions lived peacefully alongside each other.

The Rise of Philip II

In Madrid, Philip II ruled, a monarch deeply devoted to Catholicism. However, his reign also brought tensions for the Low Countries. Philip II had a habit of imposing additional taxes on his subjects to finance his military campaigns and maintain Catholic hegemony.

The Low Countries were diverse in terms of religious beliefs. While Catholicism was dominant, the Reformation, especially Calvinism, had many followers. Philip's attempts to suppress Protestantism and revive the ecclesiastical inquisition created religious tensions.

The Spark of Resistance

The spark of resistance ignited in 1566. The inquisition and the additional taxes imposed by Philip II were the last straw for many. The harsh persecution of Calvinists and humanists led to outrage. The Low Countries revolted against Spanish rule.

Initially, the seventeen provinces acted together against Philip II. They shared the desire for religious tolerance and political independence. However, as the war progressed, the Northern and Southern Netherlands drifted apart. The North, with its strong Calvinist influences, managed to maintain the Reformation better than the primarily Catholic South.

The War Intensifies

The Eighty Years' War brought horrors with it. Cities that did not surrender immediately faced gruesome reprisals. Men, women, and children were not spared by the mercenaries. This led to an increasingly grim struggle, where many Spaniards and mercenaries also fell victim to an angry population fighting for its freedom of belief and expression.

Philip II's push for change and uniformity in religious matters encountered resistance in the Low Countries. The contrast with his father, King Charles I, who seemed to have more understanding for the population, became increasingly evident.

The Role of the Jews

An interesting aspect of this period was the role of the Jews. The expulsion of the Jews in 1492 by the Catholic Monarchs had already been a major mistake. They settled in Portugal and other port cities, where they maintained good trade contacts and contributed to thriving commerce. When the Jews were also expelled from Portugal in 1497, many settled in Amsterdam, making the city a center of the Jewish community.

The exchange of ideas, goods, and culture between the Low Countries and Spain led to the spread of, among other things, the Spanish game of checkers, introduced by Jews in the Low Countries and reaching a high level. The same naturally happened with trade, and it is therefore not surprising that the Netherlands had the world's largest fleet in the seventeenth century. Neither the Netherlands nor Spain had an interest in putting the Jews in the foreground, but the facts speak for themselves. Spain brought its wealth to the Low Countries through the Jews, and the intelligent Jews were expert advisors in various fields. Success could not elude the rebellious Dutch.

The Morisco Uprising

During the same period, the Moriscos in Spain were engaged in their own struggle. In 1568, a Morisco uprising broke out in the region of Alpujarras, in the Kingdom of Granada, which was then under Spanish rule. The Moriscos, Muslims converted to Christianity, were dissatisfied with the religious repression policy and the restrictions on their freedoms.

The Aftermath

After years of struggle and hardships, Spanish troops succeeded in suppressing the Morisco uprising. This led to reprisals, including the dispersal of Morisco communities and the confiscation of their properties. The Morisco uprising was one of the most significant episodes in their struggle against Spanish oppression.

The Impact on Mighty Spain

While the Eighty Years' War raged, Spain itself faced internal problems. The rapid measures of the less tolerant Philip II caused great tensions and costs. The bankruptcies that occurred in 1557, 1560, and 1575-1577 were inevitable. This financial crisis slowly but surely meant the decline of once-mighty Spain. The country that was once known for its wealth and power now found itself in a period of economic turmoil and political instability. The costly war with the Low Countries and the Morisco uprising had depleted the Spanish treasury. It was a time of challenges and setbacks for the Spanish empire.

Conclusion

The Eighty Years' War and the Morisco uprising in Spain were complex and tumultuous periods in European history. They testify to the struggle for freedom, tolerance, and independence, as well as the consequences of authoritarian rule and religious oppression.

The Low Countries would eventually achieve their independence and leave a legacy of tolerance and diversity. In contrast, Spain would grapple with the consequences of financial crisis and political instability.

These historical events remind us of how crucial it is to strike a balance between authority and freedom and how the choices of rulers can have significant consequences for the future of nations and their people. The legacy of this period continues to resonate in the modern world as a reminder of the value of freedom and tolerance.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books written by Govert Westerveld

Most of my books, written in English, German, Spanish, French, Portuguese, Italian, Arabic, and Dutch, are located in the National Library of The Hague (Koninklijke Bibliotheek in Den Haag).

Nº	Year	Title	ISBN
01	1990 2014	Las Damas: ciencia sobre un tablero I Las Damas: ciencia sobre un tablero I. 132 pages. Lulu Editors.	84-7665-69 Softcover
02	1992 2014	Damas españolas: 100 golpes de apertura coronando dama. 116 pages. Lulu Editors. Damas españolas: 100 golpes de apertura coronando dama. 116 pages. Lulu Editors.	84-604-3888-0 None
03	1992 2014	Damas españolas: 100 problemas propios con solamente peones. Damas españolas: 100 problemas propios con solamente peones. 108 pages. Lulu Editors.	84-604-3887-2 None
04	1992 2014	Las Damas: ciencia sobre un tablero, II Las Damas: ciencia sobre un tablero, II. 124 pages. Lulu Editors.	84-604-3886-4 None

05	1992 2014	Las Damas: ciencia sobre un tablero, III Las Damas: ciencia sobre un tablero, III. 124 pages. Lulu Editors.	84-604-4043-5 None
06	1992	Libro llamado Ingenio...juego de marro de punta: hecho por Juan de Timoneda. (Now not edited).	84-604-4042-7
07	1993 2014	Pedro Ruiz Montero: Libro del juego de las damas vulgarmente nombrado el marro. Pedro Ruiz Montero: Libro del juego de las damas vulgarmente nombrado el marro. 108 pages. Lulu Editors.	84-604-5021-X None
08	1997	De invloed van de Spaanse koningin Isabel la Católica op de nieuwe sterke dame in de oorsprong van het dam- en moderne schaakspel. Spaanse literatuur, jaren 1283-1700. In collaboration with Rob Jansen. 329 pages. (Now not edited)	84-605-6372-3 hardcover
09	1997 2014 2014	Historia de Blanca, lugar más islamizado de la región murciana, año 711-1700. Foreword: Prof. Dr. Juan Torres Fontes, University of Murcia. 900 pages. Historia de Blanca, lugar más islamizado de la región murciana, año 711-1700. Volume I. 672 pages. Lulu Editors. Historia de Blanca, lugar	84-923151-0-5 978-1-291-80895-7 paperback 978-1-29-80974-9

		más islamizado de la región murciana, año 711-1700. Volume I. 364 pages. Lulu Editors.	
10	2001	Blanca, “El Ricote” de Don Quijote: expulsión y regreso de los moriscos del último enclave islámico más grande de España, años 1613-1654. Foreword of Prof. Dr. Franciso Márquez Villanueva – University of Harvard – USA. 1004 pages.	84-923151-1-3
	2014	Blanca, “El Ricote” de Don Quijote: expulsión y regreso de los moriscos del último enclave islámico más grande de España, años 1613-1654. 552 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-291-80122-4 Paperback
	2014	Blanca, “El Ricote” de Don Quijote: expulsión y regreso de los moriscos del último enclave islámico más grande de España, años 1613-1654. 568 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-291-80311-2
11	2004	Inspiraciones	Without publishing
12	2004	La reina Isabel la Católica: su reflejo en la dama poderosa de Valencia, cuña del ajedrez moderno y origen del juego de damas. In collaboration with José Antonio Garzón Roger. Foreword: Dr. Ricardo Calvo. Generalidad Valeciana. Consellería de Cultura, Educació i Esport. Secretaría Autónoma de Cultura. 426 pages.	84-482-3718-8 paperback

13	2006 2009	Los tres autores de La Celestina. Volume I. Foreword: Prof. Ángel Alcalá – University of New York. 441 pages. (bubok.com) Los tres autores de La Celestina. Volume I. 441 pages (bubok.com)	10:84-923151-4-8 None
14	2007 2014 2014	Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Ana Felix y el morisco Ricote del Valle de Ricote en “Don Quijote II” del año 1615 (capítulos 54, 55, 63, 64 y 65. Dedicated to Prof. Francisco Márquez Villanueva of the University of Harvard. 384 pages. El Morisco Ricote del Valle de Ricote. Volume I. 306 pages. Lulu Editors El Morisco Ricote del Valle de Ricote. Volume II. 318 pages. Lulu Editors.	10:84-923151-5-6 978-1-326-09629-8 Hardcover 978-1-326-09679-3 Hardcover
15	2008	Damas Españolas: El contragolpe. 112 pages. Lulu Editors.	10:84-923151-9-2
16	2008 2015	Biografía de Doña Blanca de Borbón (1336-1361). El pontificado y el pueblo en defensa de la reina de Castilla. 142 pages. Biografía de doña Blanca de Borbón (1336-1361). 306 pages. Lulu Editors	10:84-923151-7-2 978-1-326-47703-5 Hardcover en KB
17	2008	Biografía de Don Fadrique, Maestre de la Orden de Santiago (1342-1352). 122 pages. Biografía de Don Fadrique,	10:84-923151-6-4 978-1-326-47359-4 Hardcover

		Maestre de la Orden de Santiago. 228 pages. Lulu Editors.	
18	2008 2009	Los tres autores de La Celestina. Volume II. 142 pages. (Now not edited) Los tres autores de La Celestina. Volume II. 142 pages. Ebook (bubok.com)	10:978-84-612-604-0-9 None
19	2008 2015	El reino de Murcia en el tiempo del rey Don Pedro, el Cruel (1350-1369). 176 pages El reino de Murcia en el tiempo del rey Don Pedro I el Cruel (1350-1369). 336 pages. Lulu Editors	13:978-84-612-6037-9 978-1-326-47531-4 Hardcover
20	2008 2015	Los comendadores del Valle de Ricote. Siglos XIII-XIV. Volume I. 178 pages Los Comendadores del Valle de Ricote. Siglox XIII-XIV. 316 pages. Lulu Editors.	13:978-84-612-6038-6 978-1-326-47485-0 Hardcover
21	2009 2015 2015	Doña Blanca y Don Fadrique (1333-1361) y el cambio de Negra (Murcia) a Blanca. 511 pages. De Negra a Blanca. Tomo I. 520 pages. De Negra a Blanca Tomo II. 608 pages Lulu Editors	13:978-84-612-6039-3 978-1-326-47805-6 Hardcover 978-1-326-47872-8 Hardcover
22	2009 2015	Los tres autores de La Celestina. Volume III. 351 pages. (Godofredo Valle de Ricote). Los tres autores de La Celestina. Volume III. 424 pages. (bubok.com)	13:978-84-613-2191-9 None
23	2009	Los tres autores de La Celestina. Volume IV. 261	13:978-84-613-2189-6

	2015	pages. (Godofredo Valle de Ricote). Tres autores de La Celestina. Volumen IV. 312 pages. Ebook (bubok.com)	None
24	2010	El monumento del Morisco Ricote y Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. 80 pages.	13:978-84-613-2549-8
25	2011 2012	Un ejemplo para España, José Manzano Aldeguer, alcalde de Beniel (Murcia), 1983-2001. 470 pages. Foreword: Ramón Luis Valcárcel Sisa. (Now not edited) Un ejemplo para España, José Manzano Aldeguer, alcalde de Beniel (Murcia), 1983-2001. 470 pages. Ebook (bubok.com)	978-84-614-9221-3 None
26	2012	The History of Checkers of William Shelley Branch. 182 pages. (Now not edited).	None
27	2013	Biografía de Juan Ramírez de Lucena. (Embajador de los Reyes Católicos y padre del ajedrecista Lucena). 240 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-291-66911-4
28	2016	El tratado contra la carta del Prothonotario de Lucena. 182 pages. (Now not edited)	None
29	2012	La obra de Lucena: "Repetición de amores". 83 pages. (Now not edited)	None
30	2012	El libro perdido de Lucena: "Tractado sobre la muerte de Don Diego de Azevedo". 217 pages.	None

		(bubok.com)	
31	2012	De Vita Beata de Juan de Lucena. 86 pages. (Ebook – bubok.com)	None
32	2013	Biografía de Maurice Raichenbach, campeón mundial de las damas entre 1933-1938. Volume I. 357 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-291-68772-9 Paperback
33	2013	Biografía de Maurice Raichenbach, campeón mundial de las damas entre 1933-1938. Volume II. 300 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-291-68769-9 Paperback
34	2013	Biografía de Amadou Kandié, jugador fenomenal senegal's de las Damas entre 1894-1895. 246 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-291-68450-6 Paperback
35	2013	The History of Alquerque-12. Spain and France. Volume I. 388 pages. Lulu Editors	978-1-291-66267-2 Paperback
36	2013	Het slechtste damboek ter wereld ooit geschreven. 454 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-291-68724-8 Paperback
37	2013	Biografía de Woldouby. 239 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-291-68122-2 Paperback
38	2013	Juan del Encina (alias Lucena), autor de Repetición de amores. 96 pages. Lulu Editors	978-1-291-63347-4
39	2013	Juan del Encina (alias Francisco Delicado). Retrato de la Lozana Andaluza. 352 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-291-63782-3
40	2013	Juan del Encina (alias Bartolomé Torres Naharro). Propalladia. 128 pages. Lulu Editors	978-1-291-63527-0
41	2013	Juan del Encina, autor de las comedias Thebayda,	978-1-291-63719-9

		Ypolita y Serafina. 92 pages. Lulu Editors	
42	2013	Juan del Encina, autor de la Carajicomedia. 128 pages. Lulu Editors	978-1-291-63377-1
43	2013	El Palmerín de Olivia y Juan del Encina. 104 pages. Lulu Editors	978-1-291-62963-7
44	2013	El Primaleón y Juan del Encina. 104 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-291-61480-7
45	2013	Hernando del Castillo seudónimo de Juan del Encina. 96 pages. Lulu Editors	978-1-291-63313-9
46	2013	Amadis de Gaula. Juan del Encina y Alonso de Cardona. 84 pages. Lulu Editors	978-1-291-63990-2
47	2013	Sergas de Esplandián y Juan del Encina. 82 pages. Lulu Editors	978-1-291-64130-1
48	2013	History of Checkers (Draughts). 180 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-291-66732-5 Paperback
49	2013	Mis años jóvenes al lado de Ton Sijbrands and Harm Wiersma, futuros campeones mundiales. 84 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-291-68365-3 Paperback
50	2013	De Spaanse oorsprong van het Dam- en moderne Schaakspel. Volume I. 382 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-291-66611-3 Paperback
51	2013	Alonso de Cardona, el autor de la Questión de amor. 88 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-291-65625-1
52	2013	Alonso de Cardona. El autor de la Celestina de Palacio, Ms. 1520. 96 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-291-67505-4

53	2013	Biografía de Alonso de Cardona. 120 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-291-68494-0
54	2014	Tres autores de La Celestina: Alonso de Cardona, Juan del Encina y Alonso de Proaza. 168 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-291-86205-8
55	2014	Blanca, una página de su historia: Expulsión de los moriscos. (With Ángel Ríos Martínez). 280 pages. Lulu Editors.	None
56	2014	Ibn Sab'in of the Ricote Valley, the first and last Islamic place in Spain. 288 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-326-15044-0 Hardcover
57	2015	El complot para el golpe de Franco. 224 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-326-16812-4 Hardcover
58	2015	De uitdaging. Van damsport tot topproduct. Hoe de damsport mij hielp voedingsproducten van wereldklasse te creëren. 312 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-326-15470-7 Hardcover
59	2015	The History of Alquerque-12. Remaining countries. Volume II. 436 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-326-17935-9 paperback
60	2015	Your visit to Blanca, a village in the famous Ricote Valley. 252 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-326-23882-7 Hardcover
61	2015	The Birth of a new Bishop in Chess. 172 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-326-37044-2 Hardcover
62	2015	The Poem Scachs d'amor (1475). First Text of Modern Chess. 144 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-326-37491-4 Hardback
63	2015	The Ambassador Juan Ramírez de Lucena, the	978-1-326-37728-1 Hardcover

		father of the chessbook writer Lucena. 226 pages. Lulu Editors.	
64	2015	Nuestro ídolo en Holanda: El senegalés Baba Sy campeón mundial del juego de las damas (1963-1964). 272 pages. (bubok.com).	None
65	2015	Baba Sy, the World Champion of 1963-1964 of 10x10 Draughts. Volume I. 264 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-326-39729-6 Hardcover
66	2015	The Training of Isabella I of Castile as the Virgin Mary by Churchman Martin de Cordoba. 172 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-326-40364-5 Hardcover
67	2015	El Ingenio ó Juego de Marro, de Punta ó Damas de Antonio de Torquemada. 228 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-326-40451-2 Hardcover
68	2015	Baba Sy, the World Champion of 1963-1964 of 10x10 Draughts. Volume II. 204 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-326-43862-3 Hardcover
69	2016	The Origin of the Checkers and Modern Chess Game. Volume I. 316 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-326-60212-3 Hardcover
70	2015	The Origin of the Checker and Modern Chess Game. Volume III. 312 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-326-60244-4
71	2015	Woldoubys Biography, Extraordinary Senegalese checkers player during his stay in France 1910-1911. 236 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-326-47291-7 Hardcover
72	2015	La Inquisición en el Valle de Ricote. (Blanca, 1562).	978-1-326-49126-0 Hardcover

		264 pages. Lulu Editors.	
73	2015	History of the Holy Week Traditions in the Ricote Valley. (With Ángel Ríos Martínez). 140 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-326-57094-1 Hardcover
74	2016	Revelaciones sobre Blanca. 632 pages. Lulu Editores.	978-1-326-59512-8 Hardcover
75	2016	Muslim history of the Región of Murcia (715-1080). Volume I. 308 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-326-79278-7 Hardcover
76	2016	Researches on the mysterious Aragonese author of La Celestina. 288 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-326-81331-4 Hardcover
77	2016	The life of Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi between 1504 and 1534. 264 pages. Lulu Editors	978-1-326-81393-2 Hardcover
78	2016	The life of Francisco Delicado in Rome: 1508-1527. 272 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-326-81436-6 Hardcover
79	2016	Following the Footsteps of Spanish Chess Master Lucena in Italy. 284 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-326-81682-7 Hardcover
80	2016	Historia de Granja de Rocamora: La Expulsión en 1609-1614. 124 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-326-85145-3 Hardcover
81	2013	De Spaanse oorsprong van het Dam- en Moderne Schaakspel. Deel II. 384 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-291-69195-5 paperback
82	2015	The Spanish Origin of the Checkers and Modern Chess Game. (De Spaanse oorsprong van het Dam- en Moderne Schaakspel)	978-1-326-45243-8 Hardcover

		Volume III. 312 pages. Lulu Editores.	
83	2014	El juego de las Damas Universales (100 casillas). 100 golpes de al menos siete peones. 120 pages.	13-978-84-604-3888-0
84	2009	Siglo XVI, siglo de contrastes. (With Ángel Ríos Martínez). 153 pages. (bubok.com). Authors: Ángel Ríos Martínez & Govert Westerveld	978-84-613-3868-9
85	2010	Blanca, una página de su historia: Último enclave morisco más grande de España. 146 pages. (bubok.com). Authors: Ángel Ríos Martínez & Govert Westerveld	None
86	2017	Ibn Sab'in del Valle de Ricote; El último lugar islámico en España. 292 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-326-99819-6 Hardcover
87	2017	Blanca y sus hierbas medicinales de antaño. 120 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-0244-01462-9 Hardcover
88	2017	The Origin of the Checkers and Modern Chess Game. Volume II. 300 pages. Lulu Editors	978-0-244-04257-8 Hardcover
89	2017	Muslim History of the Region of Murcia (1080-1228). Volume II. 308 pages. Lulu Editors	978-0-244-64947-0
90	2018	History of Alquerque-12. Volume III. 516 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-0-244-07274-2 Paperback
91	2015	La Celestina: Lucena y Juan del Encina. Volume I. 456 pages. Lulu Editores.	978-1-326-47888-9 Hardcover
92	2015	La Celestina: Lucena y Juan del Encina. Volume II. 232 pages. Lulu	978-1-326-47949-7 Hardcover

		Editores	
93	2018	La Celestina: Lucena y Juan del Encina. Volume III. 520 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-0-244-65938-7
94	2018	La Celestina: Lucena y Juan del Encina. Volume IV. 248 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-0-244-36089-4
95	2018	La Celestina: Lucena y Juan del Encina. Volume V. (In press)	978-0-244-57803-9 Lulu Editors
96	2018	Draughts and La Celestina's creator Francesch Vicent (Lucena), author of: Peregrino y Ginebra, signed by Hernando Diaz. 412 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-0-244-05324-6
97	2018	Draughts and La Celestina's creator Francesch Vicent (Lucena) in Ferrara. 316 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-0-244-95324-9
98	2018	Propaladia Lucena	In Press
99	2018	Question de Amor Lucena	In Press
100	2018	My Young Years by the side of Harm Wiersma and Ton Sijbrands, Future World Champions – 315 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-0-244-66661-3 Lulu Editors
101	2018	The Berber Hamlet Aldarache in the 11th-13th centuries. The origin of the Puerto de la Losilla, the Cabezo de la Cobertera and the village Negra (Blanca) in the Ricote Valley. 472 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-0-244-37324-5 Lulu Editors Hardcover
103	2018	La gloriosa historia española del Juego de las Damas – Tomo I. 172	978-0-244-38353-4 Lulu Editors Hardcover

		pages. Lulu Editors.	
102	2018	La gloriosa historia española del Juego de las Damas – Tomo II. 148 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-0-244-08237-6 Lulu Editors Hardcover
104	2018	La gloriosa historia española del Juego de las Damas – Tomo III. 176 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-0-244-98564-6 Lulu Editors Hardcover
105	2018	La fabricación artesanal de papel en Negra (Blanca) Murcia. (Siglo XIII)	978-0-244-11700-9 Lulu Editors Hardcover
106	2018	La aldea bereber Aldarache en los siglos XI-XIII. El origen del Puerto de la Losilla, el Cabezo de la Cobertera y el pueblo Negra (Blanca) en el Valle de Ricote.	In Press
107	2018	Analysis of the Comedy and Tragicomedy of Calisto and Melibea. Lulu Editors. 131 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-0-244-41677-5 Lulu Editors Hardcover
108	2018	Diego de San Pedro and Juan de Flores: the pseudonyms of Lucena, the son of doctor Juan Ramírez de Lucena. Lulu Editors. 428 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-0-244-72298-2 Lulu Editors Hardcover
109	2018	Dismantling the anonymous authors of the books attributed to the brothers Alfonso and Juan de Valdés. 239 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-0-244-26453-6 Lulu Editors
110	2018	Revelation of the true authors behind Villalon's books and manuscripts. 429 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-0-244-56448-3 Lulu Editors
111	2018	Doubt about the authorship of the work Asno de oro	978-1-792-03946-1 KDP Amazon

		published in Seville around 1513. 225 pages. Lulu Editors.	
112	2018	Damas Españolas: Reglas y estrategia. Tomo I. 138 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-0-244-86526-9 Lulu Editors
113	2019	<i>El Lazarillo</i> , initiated by Lucena and finished by Bernardo de Quirós. 282 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-0-244-56495-7 Lulu Editors
114	2019	Damas Españolas: Direcciones para jugar bien. Tomo II. 150 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-0-244-56529-9 Lulu Editors
115	2019	Damas Españolas: Principios elementales y Golpes. Tomo III. 142 Pages. Lulu Editors	978-0-244-26573-1 Lulu Editors
116	2019	Damas Españolas: Concepto combinativo y Juego posicional. Tomo IV. 117 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-0-244-26590-8 Lulu Editors
117	2019	Een zwarte bladzijde in de geschiedenis van Murcia. Wetenswaardigheden over de gehuchten en dorpen langs de vreemde route van de twee vermiste Nederlanders in de Spaanse deelstaat Murcia. 303 bladzijden. Lulu Editors	978-0-244-56569-5 Lulu Editors
118	2019	Damas Españolas: La partida. Tomo V. 130 páginas. Lulu Editors	978-0-244-86605-1 Lulu Editors
119	2019	Damas Españolas: Los problemas. Tomo VI. 114 páginas. Lulu Editors. Hardcover	978-0-244-26643-1 Lulu Editors
120	2020	Tradiciones y costumbres holandesas. Vida familiar, social y comercial. 312	978-0-244-56551-0 Lulu Editors

		pages. Lulu Editors.	
121	2020	Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo (Lucena), the unknown son of the Ambassador Juan Ramírez de Lucena and author of <i>La Celestina</i> . Volume I. 414 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-0-244-27298-2 Lulu Editors
122	2020	Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo (Lucena), the unknown son of the Ambassador Juan Ramírez de Lucena and author of <i>La Celestina</i> . Volume II. 422 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-0-244-87333-2 Lulu Editors
123	2020	Muslim History of the Region of Murcia (1229-1304). Volume III. 300 pages. Lulu Editors	In Press
124	2020	Juan de Sedeño and Fernando de Rojas	978-1-71686-700-2 Lulu Editors
125	2020	Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, the author of <i>Lazarillo</i> and <i>Viaje de Turquía</i>	978-1-71679-758-3 Lulu Editors
126	2020	Testament of Fernando de Rojas. Pursuit of the missing writer	978-1-71680-426-7 Lulu Editors
127	2020	Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo and Fernando de Rojas – the Authors of <i>Repetición de Amores</i> and <i>Arte de Ajedrez</i> . 265 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-71674-220-0 Lulu Editors
128	2020	Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo and Continuations of <i>La Celestina</i> . 671 pages. Lulu Editors	978-1-71670-562-5 Lulu Editors
129	2020	My family tree. 53 pages. Lulu Editors	978-1-71668-665-8 Lulu Editors
130	2020	El Gran Capitán, obra escrita por Fernando de Rojas & Gonzalo	978-1-71665-818-1 Lulu Editors

		Fernández de Oviedo 77 pages. Lulu Editors	
131	2020	Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y sus obras. Tomo I. 276 pages. Lulu Editors	978-1-71665-331-5 ©
132	2020	Analysing Literary Works in Fernando de Rojas' Will. Volume I. 719 pages. Lulu Editors	978-1-71665-894-5 ©
133	2020	Relatos blanqueños	In Press
134	2020	Draughts is more difficult than chess. El juego de damas es más difícil que el ajedrez. 97 pages. Lulu Editors	978-1- 716-43612-3 ©
135	2021	Discovering Blanca. 10 routes to discover its natural and cultural wealth. Authors: José Molina Ruíz, M ^a Luz Tudela Serrano, Virginia Guillén Serrano, Govert Westerveld – 159 pages	978-1-716-37511-8
136	2021	Una idea de la vida en Blanca alrededor del año 1900. Authors: Ángel Ríos Martínez, Govert Westerveld – 148 pages Lulu Editors	978-1-716-27209-7
137	2021	Beautiful introductory forcing moves and hidden combinations. Years 1885 – 1933 256 pages – Lulu editors	978-1-716-17015-7
138	2021	Cambiando Blanca por Ricote alrededor del año 1900. 195 pages – Lulu Editors	978-1-716-55470-4
139	2021	Draughts dictionary English, Spanish, French, Arabic, Dutch 147 Pages. Lulu Editors	978-1-008-99182-8
140	2021	Tactics & Strategies of the	978-1-008-96582-9

		World Champion (1895-1912) Isidore Weiss in Draughts 349 pages. Lulu Editors.	
141	2021	250 New Positions of the World Champion (1895-1912) Isidore Weiss in Draughts. 283 pages. Lulu Editors	978-1-008-96563-8
142	2021	Innovative Creativity of the World Champion (1895-1912) Isidore Weiss in Draughts. 333 pages. Lulu Editors	978-1-008-96561-4
143	2021	Las Tácticas & Estrategias del Campeón Mundial (1895-1912) Isidore Weiss en el Juego de Damas.	978-1-4717-9926-6
144	2021	250 Nuevas posiciones del Campeón Mundial (1895-1912) Isidore Weiss en el Juego de Damas.	978-1-7947-2194-4
145	2021	Creatividad Innovativa del Campeón Mundial (1895-1912) Isidore Weiss en el Juego de Damas.	978-1-7947-1992-7
146	2021	Tactique & Stratégie du Jeu de Dames par Isidore Weiss	978-1-291-77299-9
147	2021	250 Nouvelles positions dans le Jeu de Dames du champion du monde (1895-1912) Isidore Weiss.	978-1-7947-0355-1
148	2021	Créativité innovante dans le Jeu de Dames du champion du monde (1895-1912) Isidore Weiss.	978-1-7947-0052-9
149	2021	Tactiek & Strategie van het Damspel door Isidore Weiss	978-1-7947-8747-6
150	2021	250 Nieuwe Damposities van de Wereldkampioen (1895-1912) Isidore Weiss	978-1-7947-2512-6

151	2021	Innovatieve Creativiteit van de Wereldkampioen (1895-1912) Isidore Weiss in de Damsport.	978-1-7947-1967-5
152	2021	Tattica & Strategia del Campione del Mondo (1895-1912) Isidore Weiss nel gioco della dama	978-1-387-60954-3
153	2021	250 Nuove Posizioni del Campione del Mondo (1895-1912) Isidore Weiss nel gioco della Dama	978-1-7947-7386-8
154	2021	Creatività innovadora del Campione del Mondo (1895-1912) Isidore Weiss nel gioco della Dama	978-1-7947-4069-3
155	2021	Taktik & Strategie des Weltmeisters (1895-1912) Isidore Weiss in Dame	978-1-387-92348-9
156	2021	250 Neue Positionen des Weltmeisters (1895-1912) Isidore Weiss in Dame	978-1-7947-1197-6
157	2021	Innovative Kreativität des Weltmeisters (1895-1912) Isidore Weiss in Dame.	978-1-7947-1068-9
158	2021	As táticas & Estratégias do Campeão Mundial (1895-1912) Isidore Weiss no Jogo de Damas	978-1-84799-808-8
159	2021	250 Novas Posições do Campeão Mundial (1895-1912) Isidore Weiss no Jogo de Damas	978-1-7947-3420-3
160	2021	Criatividade innovadora do Campeão Mundial (1895-1912) Isidore Weiss no Jogo de Damas	978-1-4717-7858-2
161	2021	Joseph Dentrux, le premier problémiste le plus vieux deu monde	978-1-7948-0419-7
162	2021	Estrategia para la utilización integral y comercialización de	978-1-7947-4227-7

		algunos sub-productos de los citricos	
163	2022	Enkele gegevens over de geschiedenis van het Fries dammen	978-1-716-02445-0
164	2022	Revelaciones sobre Blanca. Tomo II	978-1-716-01266-2
165	2022	Draughts heroes of the 100 squares (1850-1912). Letters A-H. Volume I	978-1-4583-8122-4
166	2022	Draughts Poems from France, Spain, Germany, Poland, The Netherlands, The United States, Sweden, Great Britain, and Russia.	978-1-4717-5248-3
167	2022	Doctor Manuel Cárces Sabater. Revolucionario en el Cantón de Cartagena, en la Cirugía y en el Juego de Damas	978-1-4716-4610-2
168	2022	Finales del juego de damas según Dr. Carlos Rodríguez Lafora. Breve biografía.	978-1-4710-7103-4
169	2022	Libro del Juego de Damas según un Canónigo del Sacromonte de la Ciudad de Granada	978-1-716-27209-7
170	2022	Tapas van weleer uit Blanca (Murcia); behorende tot de morisken streek Ricote dat Cervantes in 1615 beschreef in Don Quijote II	978-1-4710-4443-4
171	2022	Tapas of yesteryear from Blanca (Murcia); belonging to the Morish Ricote region that Cervantes described in Don Quijote II in 1615	978-1-4710-3976-8
172	2022	Hearty Appetite	978-1-4710-0610-4

		Eduardo Sánchez Molina Traductor: Govert Westerveld	
173	2022	Gezonde Eetlust Eduardo Sánchez Molina Traductor: Govert Westerveld	978-1-4709-7871-6
174	2022	Libro de los autos para el recluta-miento de los soldados de milicia de Blanca (1635-1642)	Ebook, sin ISBN
175	2022	Carlos Cano y Núñez (1846-1922). Poeta de padres blanqueños. Reconstrucción de «Flores y lágrimas» Tomo I	DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.174 24.28161
176	2023	El poeta blanqueño Antonio Molina González (1850-1919)	DOI: 10.13140/ RG.2.2.15582.72006
177	2023	Carlos Cano y Núñez (1846-1922). Poeta de padres blanqueños. «Ratos perdidos» Tomo II	DOI: 10.13140/ RG.2.2.13488.02569
178	2023	Carlos Cano y Núñez (1846-1922). Poeta de padres blanqueños. Historia de unos amores Tomo III	DOI: 10.13140/ RG.2.2.10434.04802
179	2023	Carlos Cano y Núñez (1846-1922). Poeta de padres blanqueños. Polémica charadística I Tomo IV	DOI: 10.13140/ RG.2.2.24871.62880
180	2023	Carlos Cano y Núñez (1846-1922). Poeta de padres blanqueños. Cuestión de Bombo Tomo V	DOI: 10.13140/ RG.2.2.32670.41283
181	2023	Carlos Cano y Núñez (1846-1922). Poeta de padres blanqueños. Polémica charadística II Tomo VI	DOI: 10.13140/ RG.2.2.32303.41127

182	2023	Carlos Cano y Núñez (1846-1922). Poeta de padres blanqueños. Polémica charadística III Tomo VII	DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.27873.17768
183	2023	Carlos Cano y Núñez (1846-1922). Poeta de padres blanqueños. Mocedades Tomo VIII	DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.25130.49606
184	2023	Carlos Cano y Núñez (1846-1922). Poeta de padres blanqueños. Fruta del tiempo Tomo IX	DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.25372.97920
185	2023	José Rodríguez López (1863-1890), el guardia civil poeta de Blanca (Murcia).	DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.31140.14723
186	2023	Tirso Camacho (1870-1937) Crónicas del Pasado. (1889-1911). Tomo I Con Manuel Enrique Gutiérrez Camacho	978-1-4467-4749-0
187	2023	Tirso Camacho (1870-1937) Crónicas del Pasado (1912-1937). Tomo II Con Manuel Enrique Gutiérrez Camacho	
188	2023	Tirso Camacho (1870-1937) Desde España a Filipinas. Tomo III Con Manuel Enrique Gutiérrez Camacho	978-1-4467-5232-6
189	2023	Tirso Camacho (1870-1937) Esbozos forenses. Tomo IV Con Manuel Enrique Gutiérrez Camacho	978-1-4467-5196-1
190	2023	Tirso Camacho (1870-1937) Auras de arriba. Tomo V Con Manuel Enrique Gutiérrez Camacho	
191	2023	Tirso Camacho (1870-	

		1937) Luciérnagas y Sensitivas. Tomo VI	
192	2023	Tirso Camacho (1870-1937) Poemas 1889-1911 Tomo VII Con Manuel Enrique Gutiérrez Camacho	
193	2023	Tirso Camacho (1870-1937) Poemas 1912-1937. Tomo VIII Con Manuel Enrique Gutiérrez Camacho	
194	2023	Tirso Camacho (1870-1937) Reflejos de lo Divino. Tomo IX Con Manuel Enrique Gutiérrez Camacho	
195	2023	Tirso Camacho (1870-1937) Monólogos científicos. Tomo X. Con Manuel Enrique Gutiérrez Camacho	
196	2023	Tirso Camacho (1870-1937) Poemas de Sevilla. Tomo XI. Por Manuel Enrique Gutiérrez Camacho	
197	2023	Tirso Camacho (1870-1937) Poemas de Sevilla Tomo XII. Por Manuel Enrique Gutiérrez Camacho	
198	2023	Tirso Camacho (1870-1937) Regionalismo andaluz. Tomo XIII Con Manuel Enrique Gutiérrez Camacho	978-1-4467-5185-5
199	2023	Tirso Camacho (1870-1937). Joyas y Tradiciones Sevillanas. Tomo XIV Con Manuel Enrique Gutiérrez Camacho	
200	2023	Tirso Camacho (1870-1937) Los grandes maestros. Tomo XV	

		Con Manuel Enrique Gutiérrez Camacho	
201	2023	Tirso Camacho (1870-1937) Ingreso en la Academia. Tomo XVI Con Manuel Enrique Gutiérrez Camacho	
202	2023	Tirso Camacho (1870-1937) Academia de las Buenas Letras. Tomo XVII Con Manuel Enrique Gutiérrez Camacho	
203	2023	Tirso Camacho (1870-1937) Premios. Tomo XVIII. Con Manuel Enrique Gutiérrez Camacho	
204	2023	Tirso Camacho (1870-1937) Biografía de Tirso Camacho. Tomo XIX Por Manuel Enrique Gutiérrez Camacho	
205	2023	Tirso Camacho (1870-1937) Testimonios sobre Tirso Camacho. Tomo XX Con Manuel Enrique Gutiérrez Camacho	
206	2023	Juego de Damas Cognitivo Inglés Tomo I	978-1-4467-6681-1
207	2023	Juego de Damas Cognitivo Alemán Tomo I	978-1-4467-6650-7
208	2023	Juego de Damas Cognitivo Francés Tomo I	978-1-4467-6600-2
209	2023	Juego de Damas Cognitivo Español Tomo I	978-1-4467-6584-5
210	2023	Juego de Damas Cognitive Portugués Tomo I	978-1-4467-5340-8
211	2023	Juego de Damas Cognitivo Italiano	978-1-4467-6465-7

		Tomo I	
212	2023	Juego de Damas Cognitivo Holandés Tomo I	978-1-4467-5320-0
213	2023	Juego de Damas Cognitivo Ruso Tomo I	ebook
214	2023	Juego de Damas Cognitivo Árabe Tomo I	ebook
215	2023	Carlos Cano y Núñez (1846-1922). Poeta de padres blanqueños. Muestras sin valor Tomo X	
216	2023	Carlos Cano y Núñez (1846-1922). Poeta de padres blanqueños. En Serio y Broma Tomo XI	
217	2023	Carlos Cano y Núñez (1846-1922). Poeta de padres blanqueños. Hojarasca - Tomo XII	
218	2023	Carlos Cano y Núñez (1846-1922). Poeta de padres blanqueños. De Militar y Paisano Tomo XIII	
219	2023	Carlos Cano y Núñez (1846-1922). Poeta de padres blanqueños. Varios Tomo XIV	
220	2023	Carlos Cano y Núñez (1846-1922). Poeta de padres blanqueños. Poemas desconocidos Tomo XV	
221	2023	Carlos Cano y Cathalan Tomo XVI.	
222	2023	Carlos Cano y Núñez (1846-1922). Poeta de padres blanqueños.	

		Biografías - Tomo XVII	
223	2023	Carlos Cano y Núñez (1846-1922). Poeta de padres blanqueños. Balart – Tomo XVIII	
224	2023	Fitología y Dendrología en Blanca (Murcia)	978-1-4467-3821-4
225	2023	La caída de un pueblo	978-1-4467-2201-5
226	2023	De val van een volk	978-1-4467-2204-6
227	2023	Der Untergang eines Volkes	978-1-4467-2169-8
228	2023	The Fall of a People	978-1-4467-2196-4
229	2023	La chute d'un peuple	978-1-4467-2175-9

